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MORNING IN THE HIGHLANDS.

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No. 1.—THE CALEDONIAN CANAL—1872.

WHAT a monument of honest work, what a picture still of massive strength, is General Wade's fine old bridge which spans the Tay at Aberfeldy. For more than a century and a half it has withstood the fury of many an angry spate in the swollen, raging river; as with ordinary care from the road trustees it is safe to do for a century to come. Standing the other morning on the steep pinnacled ridge of this historic landmark, one of many planted between the grave of the system of clanship and the cradle of modern reform, I fell into a reverie of the past. As in a dream the features of the surrounding landscape were changed and wholly transformed. The thin curling locks of snow-white mist wreathing the brow of Drummond hill, the dark firs clothing the grey rock of Dull, in sharp contrast with the masses of virgin green and white around the manse below, the bosky ridge sheltering from the north the kirk of Weem, and embowering the hoary turrets of Castle Menzies—these had all either passed entirely away or become strangely mingled and distorted into the frowning background of a wild scene of rapine and woe, or rather of a confused procession of such scenes: lawless, warring clans; wild, unkempt cattle revers; blackened rafters; foul, insanitary hamlets, famished and smallpox stricken; shaggy little horses, curiously yoked to wooden-axed cartlets of wicker-work, called lobans; anxious, red-eyed women, with hungry, half-naked children wallowing around, making a faint, sore-hearted effort to be jolly, as songless they milked the lean-ribbed cows, already bled for food. These and a hundred more dissolving views of human woe and wrong, and wild revenge, and stark starvation, chased each other in my day-dream through a frowning landscape of barren, eyried crags, boiling cataracts, yawning, unbridged torrents, and scanty patches of miserable attempts at agriculture.

But anon the scene was changed. And straightway there came a sober procession of fattened beeves, well-laden coup-carts wending their way to the busy mill, decent companies of cleanly, comfortable men and women, clothed and in their right mind, walking together in peace to the house of God, and bright companies of healthy, well-clad children, with many a romp and much horse-play, scampering away to school. And far as this fair procession stretched along massive bridges and solid well-bot-

tomed roads, methought I saw the spectre of the old schoolmaster, who in 1702 was stoned out of their bounds by the wild Highlanders of Aber-tariff, standing on a rocky promontory, and murmuring complacently to the passers by: "If you saw this road before that it was made, you would lift up your hands and bless General Wade."

Not all unlike this, perhaps, may be the reverie of some silent traveller, lonely amid the brilliant crowds thronging the magnificent floating palaces of Mr Macbrayne on the Caledonian Canal, as daily more than fulfilling the wild prophecy of the Wizard of Brahan they scale the steps of Neptune's Staircase at Banavie, and sail through the grand scenery of the Great Glen of Scotland from the Atlantic to the German Ocean. To the thousands of thoughtful passengers by these luxurious floating hostellries, not less than to the ordinary readers of the *Celtic Magazine*, some notes of "this road" too "before that it was made" may at this time be not unseasonable.

Whether the honour of being the General Wade of the Caledonian Canal belongs to James Watt, whose survey in 1773 at the instance of the Government first showed the practicability of the work, or to Telford, who actually commenced in 1803 the grand enterprise which was completed in 1823, I shall not here attempt to decide. Let both be held in everlasting remembrance by the Highlander, and if they have lineal descendants, let Mr Macbrayne send forthwith to the head of each house, a perennial free season-ticket for the "royal route."

What I at present purpose is to present the readers of the *Celtic Magazine* with a brief resumé of two papers, published in the first volume of the Transactions of the Highland Society, to which more perhaps than to any other advocacy we owe the Caledonian Canal. The first of these papers is in the form of a "Letter from a Freeholder of Inverness-shire to Lord Adam Gordon," dated 15th March 1792. The second is entitled "On the Practicability and Advantages of opening a Navigation between the Murray Frith at Inverness and Loch Eil at Fort-William, by the Rev. James Headrick," the editor and general literary factotum, or wet nurse, of the infant Highland Society.

The author of the former paper thus opens his case: "The North Highlands of Scotland have for several years past been considered as an object of importance to Government; and have since that period proved an useful nursery of his Majesty's army." He then points, as "the first step towards the civilization" of the Highlands, to the recent formation of roads at the expense of the Government, which "had in some degree opened an easy intercourse between the inhabitants thereof and those of the south, and removed the prejudices which formerly narrowed their minds, and fascinated them to clannish predilections and subordination."

But with all its ultimate benefits to the Highlands, this improvement threatened at first to prove disastrous to the Highlander. It brought into the country from the south men who saw at a glance, and soon proved to their own great profit, that it was well fitted for sheep farming. To the old Highlander who fought the battles of the Stuarts the poor sheep was an object of the utmost contempt. The only industry worthy of men of his descent and spirit was cattle rearing, and even to this was much to be preferred the gentlemanly industry of "lifting" cattle already reared to

his hand by some rival sept or clan, or by the lowland earls of Moray, Buchan, or Strathmore. The Highlanders "had such an inherent prejudice against sheep that the few kept by them were left solely to the charge of the women, and in every matrimonial bargain they were allotted as an appendix to the widow's division of the effects." (Highland Society Transactions, vol. i. p. 346.) But the southern invaders everywhere introduced their frugal, prolific flocks, paying the landed proprietors much larger rents than the native cattle rearers could pay, till, by general confession, it was discovered that "sheep can be reared with less expense, are much more productive, and more capable of enduring the severity of the climate, than black cattle." To most of the native farmers, however, this discovery came too late, for, ousted from their ancestral farms, they had already in large numbers emigrated to North Carolina and other American settlements.

Another unavoidable consequence of opening up the country is thus set forth by the Freeholder of Inverness-shire:—"The natives now feel wants and inconveniences which formerly gave them no uneasiness, and it has in some measure diminished their local attachments; and if some mode is not adopted for enabling them to procure more readily in their own country the necessaries and conveniences of life, the natives are left in a more deplorable situation than before the commencement of the improvements. For though the produce of their own country supplied their wants when these were few and simple, and when their great leaders placed a higher value on a number of dependants than on the extent of a rent-roll, yet now that their great men have relinquished those ideas, and find it their interest to enlarge farms and to let the same under a sheep stock, it is obvious that if something is not done for their relief the small tenants will be under the necessity of abandoning their native country. In vain will any restrictions which may be imposed, either by the legislative body or private societies, remedy the growing evil of emigration. Mankind cannot, with any degree of justice, be compelled to reside in a country where their wants cannot be supplied, merely because it has been inhabited by their ancestors." (Ibid., p. 345.)

"Besides," adds this writer, the opening up of the country "has taught the lowest rank their own importance, and on that account led them to raise their wages to such a degree that few could employ them in Highland counties for the cultivation of the soil, and though it will be to no purpose to attempt to bring the natives back to their former system, yet it would be political wisdom to take advantage of this change of manners and allure the small tenantry, by a sense of their own interests, to remain at home and not to emigrate to foreign countries." This desired end could, he thought, be effected by supplying them easily with the means of a more improved husbandry, and by establishing manufactories in the Highlands; and as the opening of a navigable canal through the great glen "must promote these particulars," he advocated it as an object highly worthy of the attention of landholders, and even of the Government, as it must necessarily increase the rentals of the one and the revenue of the other, while retaining to the nation a number of useful hands who otherwise must emigrate. (Ibid., p. 347.) The practicability of the undertaking had already been decided by persons of great experience in

such matters, and was indeed self-evident, for the levels were favourable, and of the fifty-nine miles to which the canal would extend, three-fourths were already formed by navigable lakes. The expense would be "but a mite to the Government of this country in the present flourishing state of its revenue," and "money laid out within the nation in its own internal improvement must necessarily revert to itself." The benefits of the Canal were obvious. It would save the large number of vessels and seamen that were annually lost in sailing round the Pentland Firth and the Northern Coast of Scotland, and "great commercial advantage must result from it in the event of a war with any of our northern neighbours." As to the beneficial effects of the Canal on husbandry, there were "thousands of acres contiguous to it at present waste, that would yield rich returns if employed in husbandry, provided the means of improvement could be procured at a moderate expense." Again, "there is hardly any wood in the inland parts of the district, and the little that grows on the banks of the lakes is generally cut down before it comes to maturity." The landowners had no encouragement to plant, "though the capacity of the soil to raise timber of any magnitude is obvious from the large trunks of firs and oaks found in the mosses," because, having only land carriage to market, they could be undersold by imported wood from Riga. If a canal were opened, the proprietors would have a powerful inducement to plant, and, in the meantime, the natives would be supplied at a moderate expense from abroad. Moreover, "it must have been noticed by every traveller that the covering of the houses in this district is mean and despicable, and occupies a great part of the labour of the inhabitants to keep the same in repair," but the canal, by bringing slates from the west and lime from the south would, in a short time, enable the tenants to have commodious and permanent habitations. Coals could also be imported to supply the place of the "exhausted mosses," "the vast quantities of shells on the western shores" would be invaluable as manure, in course of time lime quarries would be worked both for use in the district and for exportation, useful manufactories would spring up along the canal, and proper implements of husbandry, now impossible to be got or kept in repair for want of artificers, would then be available. "The introduction of sheep-grazings, though at first it threatened to depopulate the country, has brought along with it this beneficial change in the sentiments of the natives, that it has reconciled them to labour, which they formerly reckoned unworthy of men of their descent and spirit: and the late instance wherein Mr Dale of Glasgow displayed great benevolence and humanity, demonstrates that the Highlanders when properly directed can be usefully employed in any branch of manufacture." If they could have such employment among their relations at home they would doubtless prefer it to "wandering abroad in search of new settlements." "The vast multitude of sheep" might thus become a blessing to the Highlander, by furnishing wool for countless busy factories, and "great quantities of flax could be raised in parts contiguous to the canal." The necessaries of life would also be procured at a cheap rate by opening a free access to "the fish of the western coast, and to the victual on the eastern coast of Scotland." "I must be permitted further to observe," continues this writer, "that, as the Author of Nature has made nothing in vain, it is probable many of

the hills contiguous to the proposed canal may contain hidden treasures that, if discovered, would prove a new source of national wealth; and from the state of the loch and river of Ness never being liable to freeze, it seems to indicate that they flow on minerals of a mild temperature." This last statement almost matches the wonderful testimony of Mr Headrick, the author of the second paper, in regard to the vast accumulations of shell-marl which could be utilized by means of the canal. "The animals which produce this substance are very prolific; and many species of them seem not to live longer than one season. I have opened many bivalves of this class of animals in autumn, and often found *five or six young shell-fishes, perfectly formed, included within their parent.* When winter approaches, these animals retire to the deepest part of the pool, out of the reach of frost. When the warm season returns, the young animals continue to grow till they force open the shell of their mother. It would therefore seem that these animals perish in the act of producing their young!" p. 380.

The Freeholder of Inverness-shire thus sums up the argument of his Letter to Lord Adam Gordon: the opening of the canal would promote agriculture and manufactures, considerably advance the rents of the land-holders, increase the revenue of the State, and be "a total check to the progress of emigration."

Turn we now to the Essay on the same subject by Mr Headrick. This gentleman, it may be well to observe in the outset, is nothing if not practical and rigidly scientific. He is especially scientific on the subject of *limestone*, which occupies seven pages of his Essay, including two pages of a tabular analysis of various specimens of limestone taken from the lands of "Sir James Grant of Urquhart, Captain Fraser of Fyars, and Mr Macdonnel of Glengarry." It is carefully stated that these analyses were made according to "an easy plan of analysing calcareous substances" which Mr Headrick himself had discovered, and which was given to the world in his *Essay on Manures*, published by the Board of Agriculture. He is also profoundly technical on "the salt called Sulphate of Iron, vulgarly *Copperas*," and recommends the erection of works for the manufacture of this substance at Drumnadrochit, where is "a vast store of excellent materials" for such a work.

On the subject of Iron ores, some of his observations will bear quotation, and the proprietors of the lands indicated might find their interest in verifying his references. "Very pure and rich ironstone appears among the rocks behind Polmally. What I saw is very porous and cellular, hence has not much specific gravity. This ironstone has been wrought to a considerable extent at some remote period, though I could not find that the people have preserved any knowledge of the fact, even in tradition. The adjoining moors are full of the refuse of old iron furnaces. These exhibit a specimen of the first and rudest attempts to convert ironstone into its metallic form. The smelting of iron is so far from being an obvious process, and is attended with so much difficulty, that wherever it is practised we are always led to infer a very advanced state of the arts. Gold, silver, copper, lead, and other metals, were discovered and applied to use long before iron was known. But a warlike race, like the ancient Highlanders, as soon as they acquired any knowledge of this art,

would practise it in the way their circumstances admitted, for the construction of their military weapons, while other arts were either unknown or in a state of infancy. For the first use men make of iron, the most valuable of all the metals, and the greatest gift of a beneficent providence, is to destroy each other." A careful examination of this ancient Gartsherrie of our Highland forefathers led Mr Headrick to the following conclusions as to the processes they followed. "The furnaces seem to have been composed of a pipe of wrought clay, with perhaps a building of loose stones on the outside. They were always on high and exposed situations, that the heat might be increased by a strong current of air blowing into the apertures at the bottom of the furnace. Charcoal of wood was used for fuel. Previous roasting of the stone does not seem to have been necessary, as what they used contains little or no sulphur. The fuel and the stone, in small particles, being placed in the pipe in alternate layers until the whole was filled, fire was applied below. What melted and dropped to the bottom being occasionally taken out and hammered, was soon formed into malleable iron or steel. But in this way they seem only to have extracted, as it were, the cream from their stone; for they have left vast quantities of refuse which, with more efficient means of working, would yield a large proportion of excellent iron." He also found "striking symptoms of iron west of the ancient Castle of Urquhart," at Foyers, and in various parts of the Foyers ridge of hills. At Abertarff, he found "a vein of very rich ironstone, which discovers no sensible proportion of sulphur in its composition. Mr Raspe pronounced this place destined to become a second Birmingham."

On the subject of the *Fisheries* Mr Headrick is careful to say that, having no practical knowledge of that important branch of trade, he offers only such information as he has been able to "collect from intelligent professional men." He has, however, not a little to say on this subject which, apart from its bearing on the proposed canal, is still, written as it was almost a century ago, of considerable interest. "Might not herrings and all the most delicious fishes which these seas produce be conveyed to market in a fresh state packed in ice or snow? At the base of Mamsoul, a high mountain in the western parts of Inverness-shire, there is a lake that is generally covered with ice, and seldom thaws during the lifetime of the oldest man. This lake is very near the great fishery, and it would be easy to make a road to it, so that it might be got to preserve herrings and other fishes at all seasons of the year." "One acre of sea, if properly cultivated and improved, is worth many thousands of the contiguous land; but happily the land affords the means of sending the produce of the sea to very distant markets in their freshest and most delicious state." "A few swift-sailing vessels, like the Berwick smacks, would be sufficient to convey the fresh herrings to London, Dublin, and all the great towns of Britain and Ireland." Let the reader remember that it was not till 1807, several years after Mr Headrick wrote his essay, that Fulton constructed his first serviceable steamboat, and that to the essayist a Berwick smack was the perfection of swift-sailing vessels. Had he then the second-sight? and, while labouring unconsciously to realize the dream of the old Seer of Brahan by sailing a ship through the Great Glen of Scotland, was he himself, with the supposed gift of old Coinneach Odhar, see-

ing afar off the triumphs of steam and the refrigerator in carrying to our markets the choicest products of the American stock farms ?

The student of Highland history, who would watch narrowly the movements of that sharp social transition by which our people passed at once from the tutelage and dependence of clanship to the fullest enjoyment of personal liberty, but with personal liberty to the necessity of managing their own affairs and providing for their personal and family wants, should carefully study these two papers which I have thus creamed for the general reader. He will find in them much curious information as to the social and physical state of the Great Glen of Albyn, through which it was proposed to carry the canal. But he will find also not a little that is fitted to throw light on the general state of the Highlands towards the close of the last century.

He will find, for instance, that early Highland Emigration was not at all the thing of cruel compulsion which it is usually supposed to be. On the contrary, he will see that the early emigrations of the Highlander were deeply regretted, as a "harrying of the land," and were indeed strenuously opposed, by the class which at a later period became undoubtedly the urgent and interested promoters of expatriation. For the early emigrants were men of position and substance : gentlemen farmers, tacksmen and middlemen, each the natural protector, as he was also the legal sponsor, and in most cases the near kinsman, of hundreds of sub-tenants. With these teeming thousands of helpless dependent sub-tenants, who were thus left behind, the alien sheep-farmer had nothing in common. Bereaved of their natural protectors, unaccustomed to think and act for themselves, unused to toil, destitute alike of capital and experience, they were left in the position of squatters or crofters, forced against his will and their own to deal directly with the great landlord—a condition which was no less unwelcome to them than to him, as it was a most irksome burden and a loss of rent which, in the altered spirit of the times, he too often grudged and resented. Need we wonder that, as a class, they soon felt the pressure of the inevitable, and that ere long multitudes of them were driven by compulsion into an exile which their old protectors had already, for their own supposed advantage, chosen freely for themselves. The wheels of rapid, inexorable transition were everywhere crushing heavily through old Highland customs and institutions. What could the poor anachronous sub-tenants do ? The traditional three courses were open to them. With steady eye and agile spring they might leap into the galloping car and advance with the times ; they might get out of the way and let the inevitable take its headlong course ; or, they might lie or stand or brawl on the track, and be crushed to powder. Not a few, to the credit of their agility, vaulted into the car, and to their infinitely greater credit, helped to guide its progress to some benevolent, patriotic purpose ; many, stupid, helpless, or defiant, stood their ground and went down beneath the wheels of the Juggernaut ; and many more, with the wail of MacCrimmon's Lament, went down to the white ship in the offing, and their descendants are to-day the playmates and the body-guard of a young Hercules among the nations. Without doubt this last emigration was compulsory ; but whether compelled by famine or by the factor 't were idle now very closely to inquire.

As to the Canal itself, the event showed that in every way the calculations of its promoters were tremendously at fault. Instead of the mere "mite" of the Freeholder of Inverness-shire, the expense of opening the Canal almost touched a million sterling.

But for two elements of success, which seem to have never once entered the heads of its promoters, this great National Undertaking must, in all probability, have by this time shared the fate of the first Suez Canal. These two elements are steam navigation and the development of the tourist traffic. Through the narrow funnel of the Great Glen, where, however the wind blows on the mountains, you can never have but either a wind dead ahead, or one full astern, it is evident that a sailing vessel could never make her way with any approach to regularity. This was from the first urged as a fatal objection to the canal, and experience shows that it was well founded. And as to the wondrous tourist traffic, born of the inspiration of Sir Walter Scott, and so right royally ministered to by Burns, and Hutcheson, and now by Macbrayne, the promoters of the Canal do not appear to have even once dreamt of it.

Mr Headrick was a man of broad and varied culture. He had considerable literary aptitude, dabbled largely in science, knew something of the soul of poetry, and must have more than once gone carefully over every step of that paradise of tourists, the Great Glen of Albyn; and yet, for anything that concerns the thousand inspiring lights and shades, and the multitudinous, ever-varying, ever-opening aspects of this divine unfolding of glorious scenery,—towering peak and lowly lovely dell, rushing cataract, calm mirror-like bosom of the crag-girt lake, sweet wimpling fountain, hill and dale and wooded gorge,—he might just as well have all the time been pottering among the slag heaps of the Black Country, or plying his level and cross-stick among the canals and dykes of Dutchland.

*Finis coronat opus.* The Caledonian Canal is made. Ask no questions how or why. Whether it came of Boeotian blunder, or pragmatic politico-economical heresy, or of the wicked self-seeking "commercial spirit," hated with lusty Johnsonian hatred by our own revered and well-beloved Blackie,—however it came, the thing is there; and big though it be, to a thousand tuneful souls it is a joy for ever. Where is the poet, English, American, German, who has not sung its praise? Where the gentle quiet heart, which having been permitted at last to pass through the Great Glen of Albyn, has not sat down in secret to sing, "Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace?"

Long be it so! And increasingly evermore may the happy and prosperous descendants in America and far Australia of the old Highland fathers, to alleviate whose hardships the Caledonian Canal was projected, come here from afar, and from its now classic banks, drink this spiritual refreshment and eat this spiritual manna, the failure of which in the material form of daily bread sent forth the pilgrim fathers of Strathnaver and Breadalbane, and Skye and Kintail, and lonely Uist, to seek new homes for the Gael in a land which they knew not.

DONALD MASSON.

## HISTORY OF THE CLAN MACKENZIE.

BY THE EDITOR.

[CONTINUED.]

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## THE MACKENZIES OF GAIRLOCH.

VI. KENNETH MACKENZIE, a strong loyalist during the wars of Montrose and the Covenanters. He was fined by the Committee of Estates for his adherence to the King, under the Act of 3d February 1646, entitled "Commission for the moneys of Excise and Processe against delinquents." The penalty was a forced loan of 500 merks, for which the receipt, dated 15th March 1647, signed by Kennedy, Earl of Cassilis, and Sir William Cochrane, two of the Commissioners named in the Act, and by two or three others, is still extant. Seaforth was, at the time, one of the Committee of Estates, where probably his influence was exercised in favour of leniency to the Baron of Gairloch: especially as he was himself privately imbued with strong predilections in favour of the Royalists. Kenneth commanded a body of Highlanders at Balvenny under Thomas Mackenzie of Pluscardine, and his own brother-in-law, the Earl of Huntly; but when the Royalist army was surprised and disarmed, he happened to be on a visit to Castle Grant and managed to escape.

In 1640 he completed the acquisition of Logie Wester, commenced by his predecessor, but not without having had recourse to the money market. He granted a bond for 1000 merks, dated 20th of October 1644, to Hector Mackenzie, *alias* MacIan MacAlastair Mhic Alastair, indweller in Eadill-fuill. On the 14th of January 1649, at Kirkton, he granted to the same person a bond for 500 merks; but at this date Hector was described as "indweller in Androry," and, again, another dated at Stankhouse of Gairloch (Tigh Dige), 24th of November 1662; but the lender is on this occasion described as living in Diobag. For the two first of these sums Murdo Mackenzie of Sand, his brother-german, was collateral security.

In 1657 Kenneth was collateral security to a bond granted by his brother, Murdoch Mackenzie of Sand, to Colin Mackenzie, I. of Sanachan, brother-german to John Mackenzie, II. of Applecross, for 2000 merks, borrowed on the 20th March of that year; the one-half of which was to be paid by the delivery at the feast of Beltane, 1658, of 50 cows in milk by calves of that year, and the other half, with legal interest, at Whit-sunday 1659. Colin Mackenzie, I. of Sanachan, married Murdoch's daughter, and the contract of marriage is dated the same day as the bond, and subscribed at Dingwall by the same witnesses.

From a discharge by Kenneth Mackenzie of Assynt, dated 17th November 1648, Kenneth of Gairloch appears to have been cautioner for George, Earl of Seaforth, in a bond granted by him for a loan of 5000 merks.

In 1658, by letters of Tutorie Dative from Oliver Cromwell, he was appointed Tutor to Hector Mackenzie, lawful son of Alexander Mackenzie lawful son of Duncan Mackenzie of Sand, Gairloch. There is nothing

further to show what became of the pupil, but it is highly probable that on the death of Alexander, son of Duncan of Sand, the farm was given by Kenneth to his brother, Murdoch, and that the 2000 merks, borrowed from Colin Mackenzie of Sanachan, who married Murdoch's only daughter, Margaret, may have been borrowed for the purpose of stocking the farm. The dates of the marriage, of the bond, and of the Tutorie Dative, so near each other, strongly support this view.

Kenneth of Gairloch married, first, Katharine, daughter of Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat, without issue. The contract of marriage is dated 5th September 1635, the marriage portion being "6000 merks and her endowment 1000 liba. Scots yearly." In 1640 he married, secondly, Ann, daughter of Sir John Grant of Grant, by Ann Ogilvy, daughter of the Earl of Findlater. There is a charter by Kenneth in her favour of the lands of Logie Wester, the miln and pertinents thereof, with the grazings of Tolly, in implement of the marriage contract, dated 4th of December 1640, with a sasine of the same date, and another charter of the lands and manor-place of Kinkell and Ardnagrask, dated the 15th August 1655, with sasine thereon, dated 5th September following. By her he had—

1. *Alexander*, his heir.
2. *Hector* of Bishop-Kinkell, who married Mackenzie of Fairburn's widow, and with her obtained the lands of Bishop-Kinkell.
3. *John*, who died unmarried.
4. *Mary*, who married Alexander Mackenzie, younger of Kilcoy.
5. *Barbara*, married, first, Fraser of Kinneries, and secondly, Alexander Mackenzie, I. of Ardloch, by both of whom she had issue.
6. *Lilias*, married Alexander Mackenzie, I. of Ballone, by whom she had an only daughter, Margaret, who married, first, Sir Roderick Mackenzie of Findon, with issue, and secondly, George Mackenzie, II. of Gruinard.
- He married, thirdly, Janet, daughter of John Cuthbert of Castlehill; marriage contract dated 17th December 1658; the marriage portion being 3000 merks, and her endowment 5 chalders victual yearly, with issue.
7. *Charles*, I. of Letterewe, who, by his father's marriage contract, got Logie Wester, purchased by Kenneth in 1640. In 1696 it was exchanged by Charles, with his eldest half-brother, Alexander, VII. of Gairloch, for Letterewe. Charles married Ann, daughter of John Mackenzie, II. of Applecross, with issue.
8. *Kenneth*, died unmarried.
9. *Colin*, I. of Mountgerald.
10. *Isabella*, married Roderick Mackenzie, brother of John Mackenzie, II. of Applecross, and
11. *Annabella*, married George Mackenzie, a younger brother of Davochmaluag.

According to the retour of service of his successor, Kenneth died in 1669, was buried in Beauly, and succeeded by his eldest son,

VII. ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, who, by a charter of resignation, got Logie Wester included in the barony of Gairloch. It had, however, been settled on his step-mother, Janet Cuthbert, in life-rent, and after her on her eldest son, Charles, to whom, after her death, Alexander formally disposed it. They afterwards entered into an excambion by which

Alexander re-acquired Logie Wester in exchange for Letterewe, which became the patrimony of the successors of Charles.

In 1671 Alexander acquired Mellan Charles, and the second half of the water of Ewe.\*

A tradition is current in the family that when Alexander sought the hand of his future lady, Barbara, daughter of Sir John Mackenzie of Tarbat, and sister german to the first Earl of Cromarty, and to Isobel, Countess of Seaforth, he endeavoured to make himself appear much wealthier than he really was, by returning a higher rental than he actually received, at the time of making up the Scots valued rent in 1670, in which year he married. This tradition is corroborated by a comparison of the valuation of the shire of Inverness for 1644, published by Mr Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, F.S.A.S., in "Antiquarian Notes," and the rental of 1670, on which the ecclesiastical assessments are still based. In the former year the rental of the Parish of Gairloch was £31 34 13*s* 4*d*, of which £1081 6*s* 8*d* was from the lands of the Barony, equal to 34*1*/*2* per cent.; while in the latter year the valued rental of the parish is put down at £3400, of which £1549 is from the Barony lands, or 45*1*/*2* per cent. It is impossible that such a rise in the rental could have taken place in the short space of twenty-six years; and the presumption is in favour of the truthfulness of the tradition which holds that the rental was over-valued for the special purpose of making the Baron of Gairloch appear more important in the eyes of his future relatives-in-law than he really was. In 1681 he had his rights and titles ratified by an Act of Parliament, printed at length in the Folio edition.

He married, first, Barbara Mackenzie of Tarbat, with issue—

1. *Kenneth*, his heir.
2. *Isobel*, who married John Macdonald of Balcony, brother to Sir Donald Macdonald.

He married, secondly, Janet, daughter of William Mackenzie, I. of Belmaduthy, on which occasion Davochcairn and Ardnagrask were settled upon her in life-rent, and on her eldest son at her death, as appears from a precept of Clare Constat, by Colin Mackenzie of Davochpollo, in favour of William, his eldest surviving son. By her he had—

3. *Alezander*, who died unmarried.
4. *William*, who got the lands of Davochcairn, and married, in 1712, Jean, daughter of Roderick Mackenzie, V. of Redcastle, with issue, one

\* Regarding this place there is the following reference in the records of the Presbytery of Dingwall, under date, 6th of August 1678:—"That day Mr Roderick Mackenzie, minister at Gerloch by his letter to the Presbytery declared that he had summoned by his officer to this Presbytery, Hector McKenzie in Mellan in the Parish of Gerloch, as also John, Murdoch, and Duncan McKenzie, sons to the said Hector, as also, Kenneth McKenzie his grandson, for sacrificing a bull in an heathenish manner in the Island of St Ruffus, commonly called 'Ellen Meury, in Locheu,' for the recovering of the health of Curstane McKenzie, spouse to the said Hector McKenzie, who was formerly sick and valetudinarius; who being all cited, an not compearing, are to be all summoned again pro 2*d*." The case was called against them again on the third of the following September, but they never appeared, and the matter was allowed to drop. The island of St Ruffus is evidently Isle Maree, Lochmearie, being then designated Lochewe, as Kenlochewe and Letterewe unmistakeably testify. The name Loch Maree must, however, have also been known then, for in a charter under the Great Seal to John Mackenzie of Gairloch and his son Alexander, dated 26th of August 1619, it is called "Loch Marey."

son, Alexander, of the Stamp Office, London ; and several daughters. Alexander has a *Clare Constat* as only son in 1732. He died in 1772, leaving a son, Alexander Kenneth, who emigrated to New South Wales, where many of his descendants now reside ; the representative of the family, in 1878, being Alexander Kenneth Mackenzie, Boonara, Bondi, Sydney.

5. *John*, who purchased the lands of Lochend (now Inverewe), with issue—Alexander Mackenzie, afterwards of Lochend ; and George, an officer in Colonel Murray Keith's Highland Regiment ; also two daughters, Lilius, who married William Mackenzie, IV. of Gruinard, and Christy, married to William Maciver, Turnaig, both with issue.

6. *Ann*, who married Kenneth Mackenzie, II. of Torridon, with issue. She married, secondly, Kenneth Mackenzie, a solicitor in London.

He died in December 1694, at 42 years of age ; for in his general retour of sasine, 25th February 1673, he is said to be then of lawful age. He was buried in Gairloch, and succeeded by his only son by the first marriage.

VIII. SIR KENNETH MACKENZIE, created a Baronet of Nova Scotia, by Queen Anne, on the 2d of February 1703. He was educated at Oxford, and afterwards represented his native county in the Scottish Parliament. He strongly opposed the Union, considering it, if it should take place, "the funeral of his country." After the succession of Queen Anne he received from her, in December 1702, a gift of the taxed ward feu-duties, non-entry and marriage dues, and other casualties, payable from the date of his father's death, which, up to 1702, appear not to have been paid. Early in the same year he seems to have been taken seriously unwell, whereupon he executed a holograph testament at Stankhouse, dated 23d May 1702, witnessed by his uncle, Colin Mackenzie of Findon, and by his brother-in-law, Simon Mackenzie of Allangrange. He appoints as trustees his "dear friends" John, Master of Tarbat, Kenneth Mackenzie of Cromarty, Kenneth Mackenzie of Seatwell, Hector Mackenzie, and Colin Mackenzie, his uncles, and George Mackenzie of Allangrange. He appointed Colin Mackenzie, then of Findon, and afterwards of Davochpollo and Mountgerald, as his Tutor and factor at a salary of 200 merks Scots. In the following May, having apparently to some extent recovered his health, he appeared in his place in Parliament. By September following he returned to Stankhouse, where he executed two bonds of provision, one for his second son George, and the other for his younger daughters.

He married, in 1696, Margaret, youngest daughter, and, as is commonly said, co-heiress of Sir Roderick Mackenzie of Findon, but the Barony of Findon went wholly to Lilius the eldest daughter, who married Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, 1st Baronet and IV. of Seatwell ; another of the daughters married Simon Mackenzie of Allangrange. There was a fourth unmarried at the date of Margaret's contract of marriage ; and the four took a fourth part each of Sir Roderick's moveables and of certain lands not included in the Barony. At the date of his marriage Kenneth had not made up titles ; but by his marriage contract he is taken bound to do so as soon as he can ; his retour of service was taken out the following year.

By his marriage he had—

1. *Alexander*, his heir.
2. *George*, who became a merchant in Glasgow.
3. *Barbara*, married, in 1729, George Beattie, a merchant in Montrose.
4. *Margaret*, who died in 1704.
5. *Anne*, who married, in 1728, Murdo Mackenzie, yr. of Achilty.
6. *Katharine*, who died young.

Sir Kenneth also had a natural daughter, *Margaret*, who married, in 1723, Donald Macdonald, younger of Cuidreach. Sir Kenneth's widow, about a year after his decease, married Bayne of Tulloch. Notwithstanding the money Sir Kenneth received with her, he died deeply involved in debt, and left his children without proper provision. George and Barbara were at first maintained by their mother, and afterwards by Colin of Findon, who married their grandmother, relict of Sir Roderick Mackenzie of Findon, while Alexander and Anne were in a worse plight.

He died in December 1703, only 32 years of age; was buried in Gairloch, and succeeded by his eldest son,

IX. Sir ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, the second Baronet, a child only three and a-half years of age. His prospects were by no means enviable; he and his sister Anne for a time, having had, for actual want of means, to be "settled in tenants' houses." The rental of Gairloch and Glaletter at his father's death amounted only to 5954 merks, and his other estates in the low country were settled on Sir Kenneth's widow for life; while he was left with debts amounting to 66,674 merks, or eleven years' rental of the whole estates. During Sir Alexander's minority, the large sum of 51,200 merks had been paid off, in addition to 27,635 in name of interest on the original debt; and thus very little was left for the young Baronet's education. In 1708 he, his brother, and sisters were taken to the factor's house—Colin Mackenzie of Findon—where they remained for four years, and received the rudiments of their education from a young man, Simon Urquhart. In 1712 they all went to school at Chanonry, under Urquhart's charge, where Sir Alexander remained for six years, after which, being then 18 years of age, he went to Edinburgh to complete his education. He afterwards made a tour of travel, and returning home in 1730 married his cousin, Janet of Seatwell, on which occasion a fine Gaelic poem was composed in her praise by John Mackay, the famous blind piper and poet of Gairloch, whose daughter became the mother of William Ross, a bard even more celebrated than the blind piper himself. If we believe the bard the lady possessed all the virtues of mind and body; but in spite of all these advantages the marriage did not continue a happy one; for, in 1758, they separated on the grounds of incompatibility of temper; after which she lived alone at Kinkell.

When, in 1721, Sir Alexander came of age, he was compelled to procure means to pay the provision payable to his brother George and to his sisters, amounting altogether to 16,000 merks, while about the same amount of his late father's debts was still unpaid. In 1729 he purchased Cruive House and the Ferry of Skuddale. In 1735 he bought Bishop-Kinkell; in 1742 Logie Riach; and, in 1743, Kenlochewe, which latter was considered of equal value with Glaletter in Kintail, which was sold

about the same time. He also, about 1730, redeemed Davochairn and Ardnagrask from the widow of his uncle William ; and Davochpollo from the widow, and son, James, of his grand-uncle, Colin of Mountgerald. In 1752 he executed an entail of all his estates ; but leaving debts at his death, amounting to £2679 13s 10d more than what his personal estate could meet, Davochairn, Davochpollo, and Ardnagrask, had eventually to be sold to pay his liabilities.\*

In 1738 he pulled down the old family residence of Stankhouse, or "Tigh Dige," at Gairloch, which stood in a low marshy, damp situation, surrounded by a moat, from which it derived its name, and built the present house on an elevated plateau, surrounded by magnificent woods and towering hills, with a southern front elevation—altogether one of the most beautiful and best sheltered situations in the Highlands ; and he very appropriately called it Flowerdale. He vastly improved his property, and was in all respects a careful and good man of business. He kept out of the Forty-Five. John Mackenzie of Meddat applied to him for aid in favour of Lord Macleod, son of the Earl of Cromarty, who took so prominent a part in the Rising, and was afterwards in tightened circumstances ; but Sir Alexander replied, in a letter dated "Garioch, 17th May 1749," as follows :—

Sir,—I am favoured with your letter, and am extremely sorry Lord Cromartie's circumstances should oblige him to solicit the aide of small gentlemen. I much rather he had dyed sword in hand even where he was ingag'd then be necessitate to act such a part. I have the honour to be nearly related to him, and to have been his companion, but will not supply him at this time, for which I believe I can give you the best reason in the world, and the only one possible for me to give, and that is that I cannot.†

The reason stated may possibly be the correct one ; but it is more likely that Sir Alexander had no sympathy whatever with the cause which brought his kinsman into such a pitiable position, and would not, on that account, lend him any assistance.

Several of his leases, preserved in the Gairloch charter chest, contain some very curious clauses, some of which would make those who advocate going back to the "good old days" draw their breath ; but notwithstanding conditions which would now be called tyrannical and cruel the Laird and his tenants understood each other, and got on remarkably well. The tenants were bound to sell to him all their marketable cattle "at reasonable rates," and to deliver to him at current prices all the cod and

\* The state of religion seems to have been for a long time, and up to Alexander's time, in a very unsatisfactory state in the Presbytery of Gairloch, now that of Lochcarron. "In March 1725, we find the Presbytery of Gairloch obliged to hold a meeting at Kilmorack, as the Presbytery, to use the language of the record, had no access to meet in their own bounds, since they had been rabbled at Lochalsh on the 16th September 1724, that being the day appointed for a parochial visitation there. From a petition which Mr Sage, the first Presbyterian minister of Lochcarron, settled there in 1726, presents to the Presbytery, in 1731, praying for an act of transportability—we see that he considered his life in danger—that only one family attended regularly on his ministry ; and that he dispaired of being of any service in the place." The same writer informs us that not further back than the middle of the eighteenth century the inhabitants of Lochcarron in this Presbytery "were involved in the most dissolute barbarism. The records of Presbytery, which commence in 1724, are stained with an amount of black and bloody crimes, exhibiting a picture of wildness, ferocity, and gross indulgence consistent only with a state of savagism."—*New Statistical Account of Lochcarron*.

† Fraser's Earls of Cromartie, vol. ii., p. 230.

ling caught by them; and, in some cases, were bound to keep one or more boats, with a sufficient number of men as sub-tenants, for the prosecution of the cod and ling fishings. He kept his own curer, cured the fish, and sold it at 12s 6d per cwt. delivered in June at Gairloch, with credit until the following Martinmas, to Mr Dunbar, merchant, with whom he made a contract binding himself, for several years, to deliver, at the price named, all the cod caught in Gairloch.\*

Sir Alexander married, in 1730, Janet, daughter of Sir Roderick Mackenzie, second Baronet and V. of Scatwell, with issue—

1. *Alexander*, his heir,

2. *Kenneth*, who died in infancy.

3. *Roderick*, a captain in the army, killed at Quebec before he attained his majority.

4. *William*, a writer, died unmarried.

5. *James*, died in infancy.

6. *Kenneth* of Millbank, factor and tutor to Sir Hector, the fourth Baronet, during the last few years of his minority. He married Anne, daughter of Alexander Mackenzie of Tolly, with issue—(1) Alexander, County Clerk of Ross-shire, perhaps the most popular, and, at the same time, the most reckless member of the Clan that ever existed. His father left him £20,000, and, for years, he had about £1000 per annum as factor for Lovat and Tulloch; but he spent it all and a good deal besides, and died in poverty in 1861. He married, and had issue—Alexander, in New Zealand; Kenneth, married twice, in India, and died in 1877; and Catharine, who married Murdo Cameron, Leanaig; (2) Janet, who married the Rev. John Macdonald, Urquhart, with issue; (3) Catherine, who

\* The following is an extract from a lease granted by Sir Alexander to the great-grandfather of the writer, John Mor Mackenzie, grandson of Alastair Cam Mackenzie, fourth son of Alexander, V. of Gairloch, by his wife, Janet Mackenzie of Ord. The lease is for 20 years, "of the equal half of the quarter lands of Airidale a Pris, or North Airidale. . . . as presently occupied by him;" is dated the 5th of September 1760; but is not to take effect until Whitsunday 1765, five years being, at the time, to run of the old lease. John Mor binds himself to pay Sir Alexander "all and hail the sum of one hundred and thirty-one marks and a half Scots mony, two marks three shillings and fourpence money for said Crown rent, ten merks ten shillings and eightpence in lieu of Peats, or as the same shall reasonably from time to time be regulated by the proprietor, a mark of Crore mony, Twenty marks mony forsaide of Stipend, or as the same shall happen to be settled twixt the landlord and minister. Two long carriages, Two custom widders, a fadd Kidd, a ston of cheese and halfe a ston weight of Butter, eight hens or as usual eight men yearly at their own expense to shear Cern or cutt Hay, a Davach of Ploeghing, and four horses for mucking." John also "obliegs himself to attend Road duty yearly four days with all his servants and sub-tenants or pay a yearly capitulation, optionall to the Landlord, dureing the lease under break of tack, and to sell all the cod and ling (that) shall be caught by him and his forsaids at the current price to our order and to dispose of all mercat catle to our Drover at reasonable rates, also under break of tack." He has also to pay "a fine or grasseum" at the term of Whitsunday 1765, "all and hail the sum of two hundred and fifty marks Scots mony and the like sum at the end of every five years of this tack making in all the sum of one thousand marks Scots mony," &c., &c. The document is holograph of Sir Alexander; and it is arranged that it shall be registered for conservation in the Books of Council and Session, so that letters of horning and all needful executions may pass thereon in proper form. The elder John Mor Mac Alastair died during the currency of the lease. He was succeeded in it by his son, John Mor Og, to whom, in 1785, a lease is granted of the whole of Erradale, jointly with his relative, George Mackenzie, at a rental of £24 and a grasseum of 40 guineas. In 1790 the rent is increased to £32 and the grasseum to £50; in 1795 to £40 of rent and £60 of grasseum; and five years later the lease is again renewed at the same rent.

married Alexander Mackenzie, a merchant in London, and grandson of Alexander Mackenzie of Tolly, with issue, an only daughter, Catherine, who married Major Roderick Mackenzie, VII. of KinCraig, with issue; (4) Jane, who, in 1808, married the Rev. Hector Bethune, minister of Dingwall, with issue—Colonel Bethune; Rev. Angus Bethune, Rector of Seaham; Alexander Mackenzie Bethune, Secretary of the Peninsular and Oriental Navigation Company; and a daughter, Jane, who married Francis Harper, Torgorm. Mrs Bethune died in 1878, aged 91 years.

7 and 8. *Margaret* and *Janet*, died young.

9. Another, *Janet*, married Colin, eldest son of David, brother of Murdo Mackenzie, VII. of Achilty. Murdo leaving no issue, Colin ultimately succeeded to Achilty, though he seems afterwards to have parted with it, as, in 1784, he has a tack of Kinkell, and dies there, in 1813, with his affairs involved.

Sir Alexander had also a natural son, Charles Mackenzie, ancestor of the later Mackenzies of Sand, and two natural daughters, one of whom, Annabella, by a daughter of Maolmuire, or Miles MacRae, of the family of Inverinate, married John Bàn Mackenzie, by whom she had a daughter, Marsali or Marjory, who married John Mòr Og Mackenzie (Ian Mòr Aireach), son of John Mòr Mackenzie, grandson of Alexander Càm Mackenzie, fourth son of Alexander, V. of Gairloch, in whose favour Sir Alexander granted the lease of North Erradale, already quoted.

He died in 1766, in the 66th year of his age, was buried with his ancestors in Gairloch,\* and succeeded by his eldest son,

(To be Continued.)

THE EDITOR'S TOUR TO CANADA.—By the time this number shall have been in the hands of the public, the editor will be on his way across the Atlantic to see his countrymen and describe their manner of life in the Great Canadian Dominion. Arrangements have been made by the proprietors of the Aberdeen *Daily Free Press*, by which at least one special letter a-week will appear in that journal, under the title of "The Highlanders of Canada," in which a faithful comparison will be drawn between the position of those who have left their country and those, in similar circumstances, who remained at home, and other information. Mr Mackenzie has already made arrangements to deliver Lectures on Celtic Subjects, such as "Prince Charles and Flora Macdonald"; "Highland Clearances"; "Highland Valour"; "Highland Superstition," &c., &c., and will be glad to do so in any City or Town in Nova Scotia, or on the St Lawrence, where any Highland or Scottish Societies are willing to make arrangements or patronise the lecture. Letters addressed to the care of the Editor of the *New-York Scotsman*, New-York, will be promptly replied to.

The *Celtic Magazine* will, meanwhile, be conducted by one of our best Celtic scholars.

\* The old chapel and the burying place of the Lairds of Gairloch appear to have been roofed at this date; for in the Tutorial accounts of 1704 there is an item of 30 merks for "harling, pinning, and thatching Garloch's burial place."

## Correspondence.

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### THE SCOTTISH BIBLE SOCIETY'S 8vo. EDITION OF THE GAELIC SCRIPTURES.

#### TO THE EDITOR OF THE CELTIC MAGAZINE.

DEAR SIR,—In my papers on our Gaelic Bible mention was necessarily made of the two great Bible Societies of England and Scotland; the British and Foreign Bible Society and the National Bible Society of Scotland. But I did not weary your readers by always citing the full official name of either Society. I simply, and I think sufficiently, designated them as the English or the Scottish Society, as the case might be. In this want of technical exactness Dr Maclauchlan thinks he spies an opportunity for the exercise of his dexterity. And so, in his own way, as if with painful hesitation and infinite regret, he first insinuates, and straightway takes for granted that I have committed the unpardonable “blunder” of mistaking the National Bible Society of Scotland for an entirely different Society—a Society, useful enough in its own sphere, but which has nothing to do with editing or publishing Gaelic Bibles!

Your correspondent knows perfectly well that he might just as reasonably taunt me with mistaking his own Christian name, on the ground that, while there are other Maclauchlans than himself, I, in these lines, use only his surname. And this is the sole foundation of his suggestion that a certain part of my last paper “is a tissue of blunders.”

With that explanation the whole of his letter, if it does not exactly become a tissue of blunders, is shown to be, what is worse, a bundle of misstatements—which fortunately I can leave to the tender mercies of the Rev. Alexander Cameron. For that gentleman has anticipated them all, and fully disposed of them in the letter which, by good luck, was the bed-fellow of my neighbour’s bantling.

Dr Maclauchlan objects to what he is pleased to call my Miltonic account of the Gaelic Scriptures committee. That is a very small matter. And if, in looking back to the “copious eloquence” and other unparliamentary arts by which he succeeded for years in obstructing the appointed work of the committee, he now thinks that they smell more of the *dramatis personæ* of Milton’s caverns of woe than of the demigods and heroes of Homer and Ossian. I am sure I have no quarrel with him about it. But one thing I venture to predict. If the old fight in the committee between Dr Maclauchlan and other members of his own Church is renewed in the *Celtic Magazine* with anything like the emphasis which so often scandalized the meetings of the committee, your readers will soon see for themselves that my description was rather Pre-Raphaelite than Miltonic.

But the combat may not be renewed. For somehow in these last days, Dr Maclauchlan has come to “have a very strong repugnance to controversy about Gaelic.” He has in fact “found it very unprofitable.” That at least is truly spoken; and *cave canem* is neither dog-Latin nor unprofitable philosophy.

Notwithstanding all his varied gifts, I fear Mr Cameron is not endowed with a keen sense of humour. Else why take such stern exception to my quieting statement that the blunders of the Gaelic Bible of 1860 were "carefully corrected" in the editions of 1863-8? Surely on his own showing, these successive corrections of the work must have implied no small care and toil at least on the part of the *tinsmith*—I mean in so largely tinkering and soldering up again those flimsy stereotype plates, which, in 1860, had been warranted, and, I suppose, paid for as perfect.

As you can testify, my personal desire in regard to the edition of 1860 was either to ignore it (if that could have been done consistently with the general character of the articles), or to despatch it with the barest possible notice. And when it became necessary for me in some sort to characterise the work, I certainly did so as shortly, and with as little offence to the editors as the claims of honest and independent criticism would permit. I knew, as every man knows with the least pretension to Gaelic scholarship, that the work was blundered and botched irremediably. But I did not say so in as many words. If I say it now, Dr Maclachlan, when next he goes a-tilting, can saddle the right steed.

Dr Maclachlan reminds me that many years ago I was myself a member of this committee; and I understand that I am still a member of a similar committee of the National Church, whose meetings, if ever convened, I do not remember having once had an opportunity of attending. The actings of the former committee are now fair matter of history. But while describing in a general way, and within but four lines of print, the public character and the unhappy public results of the committee's labours, it must be remembered that, in the paper which has occasioned this controversy, I carefully avoided the least reference to individual members of the committee, or to their opinions or actings at its meetings.

If I do otherwise now, be it still observed that I name only one who first named himself, and that I unvail his conduct to the extnt only that may be required to repel his attack.

My statement that Dr Macdonald's Gaelic text of 1826 was being republished by the National Bible Society, after revision in a spirit strictly conservative, was made on official authority. On the same authority the statement is repeated. To have set up again the text of 1860, or the "corrected" text of 1863 or 1868, would have been not merely a blunder but a grave offence. If Dr Maclachlan, as his letter seems to imply, has discretionary power from the Society as to the extent to which the authorised text is to be tampered with, every devout student of the Word will sincerely pray that this discretion may be used with reserve and reverence, and that when the fruit of this fourth attempt has reached the public, we shall not have to lament that the last state of our people's Bible is worse than the first.—I am, dear sir, yours faithfully,

DONALD MASSON.

Edinburgh, 5th Aug. 1879.

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TO THE EDITOR OF THE CELTIC MAGAZINE.

SIR,—I observe in this month's number of your magazine a letter from the Rev. A. Cameron, F.C. Brodick, republishing charges which he

brought long ago against an edition of the Gaelic Scriptures, superintended by the Rev. Dr Maclauchlan, Edinburgh, and me in 1860 ; and this letter I must characterise as very extraordinary on various accounts ; for it is written with the avowed purpose of guarding the public against a new edition of the Scriptures which is still unpublished, which, therefore, he cannot know, and which actually is not, in any sense, a re-issue of that of '60. He condemns what he has not seen, and further while he brings against '60 the very grave accusations that the changes which it has made, corrupt the language, and "seriously affect the meaning and structure of the places in which they occur," the proofs which he brings forward are not only glaringly inconclusive, but are in themselves of so utterly insignificant a character as to be undeserving of a serious answer.

I hope that the forthcoming edition will prove to be the most useful hitherto published in Gaelic, for it will give copious references, maps, and explanatory tables—helps to the understanding of the Bible which, while some time ago furnished to the natives of the South Sea Islands, have not until now been provided for the natives of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland ; and as the repetition of Mr Cameron's charges, if left unrefuted, may possibly prejudice some people against this work, I address myself to the very distasteful task of discussing his twelve counts of indictment. The task is most distasteful because I heartily hate controversy, and of all controversies one about Gaelic matters—for a spirit is generally manifested in these which fortunately has been banished from the discussion of all other languages ; and specially because I can scarcely imagine a poorer, a more profitless, or sterile employment for the human mind than wrangling about Gaelic hyphens and apostrophes. But to begin the dreary toil—

1. Mr Cameron says "the preposition *an* (in) is marked with an apostrophe to represent it as a contracted form." This statement is scarcely correct ; but, taking it as it stands, I most willingly take the responsibility of distinguishing *an* with the obnoxious mark, where I believe it to stand for *ann an*. In the 1st Ps., e.g., we have *ann an comhairle*, &c., *ann an slighe*, &c.; *ann an caithir*, &c. Where *an comhairle* alone is used I think it right to mark the elision, and will continue to do so until I see a better reason against it than that brought forward by my critic.

2. *Gu-n* for *gu'n*, as implying that the *n* is euphonic, is a grievous charge. But the editors of '26, whom Mr Cameron used to extol as "thorough grammarians," often treat it as euphonic. Thus in Ps. lxvii., we have *gu deanadh*, *gu tugadh*, *gu beannacheadh*. In hundreds of other instances the *n* is omitted before consonants, as well as vowels, a clear proof that they regarded it as euphonic, and while I do not consider the decision of the "Joint Committee on the revision of the Gaelic Scriptures" absolutely binding on any one, yet it is deserving of mention that they declare *gu-n* the proper form. I think most people will prefer such sanctions to the mere *ipse dixit* of Mr Cameron.

3. *Cha-n eil* is condemned on the same ground as the foregoing, the *n* said to be the representative of the long obsolete *ni con*. But Stewart, in his grammar, gives *Cha bheil* as the right form, and says the *n* is euphonic. All writers and speakers dispense with its aid in other negative expressions as *Cha bhual*, *Cha bhean*, &c. The joint committee pro-

nounce it euphonic, and therefore I will continue to treat it as such, regardless of the imaginary claims of the venerable fossil *ni con*.

4. *Tha* was at one time written *atta*, and is still sometimes written, and spoken *a ta*, therefore the use of *tha* is a grievous offence. Such is the fourth charge in the black list before us. *Atta* is certainly to be found in old Irish MSS., but *tha* is universally used in Gaelic speech, and has been so for scores of years back. What is all this, however, to Mr Cameron's dictum? His legislating on this, and on several other points, assumes that language is to be denied all living power of modifying its forms or expressions; and his condemnation is as entirely unreasonable as would be that of writers of English for daring to change the spelling used by Caedmon, or Wycliff. Besides all which *tha*, as Mr Cameron is well aware, is used hundreds of times over by the "thorough grammarians" of the '26. In the very last chapter of Revelation it occurs eleven times, while *ta* is used only five times. Yet he charges the use of it as an offence against Dr Maclauchlan and myself!

5. *Bhitheas* is used for *bhios*. This trifling charge is not worth mentioning except as illustrating the character of Mr Cameron's objections. Both forms are used in '26, and also in '60. In the latter preference is frequently given to the longer form as more emphatic, and therefore more suitable to the language of Scripture.

6. The Nom. Plur. frequently ends with a vowel. In 1860 *n*, which does not essentially belong to the case, is added to the vowel, not *euphoniac* *causa* as in 1826, but as a general rule. Thus the regular Nom. Plur. is banished from written Gaelic, while it is still in use in spoken Gaelic.

I am sorry to be obliged to contradict every assertion in this paragraph except the first, and even it is here overstated. I maintain that in Gaelic, as spoken in the Highlands, *n* is the characteristic termination of Plural nouns, as opposed to *a* or *e*; and I have the authority of Mr Skene, who gives this as one of the facts which distinguish Scottish from Irish Gaelic. "The Nom. Plur. frequently ends like Irish and Manx in *an*, as *Slatan*, rods; *Maithean*, chiefs." [Dean of Lismore's Book, p. 140.] *E.* is specifically Irish. *N.* specifically Scottish. I assert that '26, while frequently following the course described by Mr Cameron, departs from it in instances difficult to count—e.g., Isaiah ix., 10—we find *clachan* *creadha*, *craobhan* *sicamoir*, *craobhan* *seudair*. Isaiah iv., 1., *ni seachd* *mnathan* *greim*, &c. In Isaiah iii., 18-23, amid the greatest irregularity, we have Nom. and Gen. Plur. in *n*, and throughout both Old and New Testaments, there are many hundreds of instances of Nom. Gen. and Voc. Plur. in *n* before words beginning with a consonant, while there are just as many instances of the same cases in *a*, or *e* before words beginning with a vowel, so that the *causa euphoniae* fare very poorly here as well as in many other cases in '26. What '60 really does is preserving to some extent the genuine Highland termination against the Irish, so unfortunately followed in '26, and so strongly patronised by Mr Cameron.

7. Mr Cameron is severe on treating what he calls the indeclinable Noun *Tighearna*, lord, as declinable, making the Nom. improperly *Tighearn*. If he looks at '26 he will find this word very frequently written *Tighearn* in the Nom., and *Tighearna* in the Gen., while, with the usual confusion marking that edition, he will find instances of the very opposite

treatment. The 29th Ps., not a very long one, affords proof of both. Further, Mr Skene gives the Nom. *Tighearn*, as distinctively Scottish, while *Tighearna* is Irish [Dean's Book, p. 140], and I consider his authority at the least equal to Mr Cameron's. But whether the Noun is called by grammarians declinable or indeclinable—whether Scottish or Irish—I consider it a right thing to reduce it to some kind of order rather than leave it in the absolute irregularity with which it is treated in '26.

8. The eighth accusation is writing *air 'bhi* for *air bhi*, &c. To this it might be sufficient to answer that James Munro, whom I consider the most accurate writer of Gaelic that I have ever known, used the form condemned by Mr Cameron—that Stewart gives the infinitive of *Bi* as *do bhith*, *a bhith* or *gu bhith*, and that in '26 we have Tit. i. 7., "Is còir *do easbuig a bhi*," &c. II. Tim., vi., 17, 18.—"Gan iad *a bhi* Ard-inntinneach"; *iad a bhi* saoibhir ann an deadh oibrribh." Job xxiv., 23.—"Bheir e dha *a bhi* ann an tearuinterachd," and many similar instances might be given, while in conversation *gun a bhi* is the prevalent form at least in Lochaber. I think it one of the smallest of very small things to dispute about the question whether *gun bhi*, or *gun 'bhi*, be the better form; but from what I have said I feel bound to dissent from my critic's dogmatical ruling on the subject.

9. As for the regular use of *d'* and discarding *t'* as a form of the 2d poss. pron., I have to say that, in every Gaelic Dictionary and Grammar which I have ever seen, *do* is the form given—*to* never. Why *t* should be introduced I cannot conjecture. The practice is condemned by Stewart in his Grammar (p. 79). The pronunciation does not in the least require it, and as to the *important fact* discovered by Dr Stokes, that *t* must have been the original letter because we have *tata* in Sanskrit, *Tuus* in Latin, and *Thine* in English, it is a very extraordinary assumption that such facts in foreign languages should alter long-established usage in Gaelic. The principle involved would deprive it of all independent self-improving power. I may add that Zeuss (Gramm. Celt., p. 344) gives *do* as the established form, while he adds in parenthesis (*forsan pro tho*); and, what is more to the purpose, '26 often uses *d'* before a vowel as well as before a consonant; *a' d' aghaidh*, Ps. li., 4; *a' d' ionnsuidh*, Job xv., 8, and in scores of other instances.

10. Mr Cameron says "Dr Masson has happily remarked that the change of the prep. *do* into *de* . . . . is the great grammatical improvement which the edition of 1860 professes to have introduced into the Gaelic Scriptures!" This unhappily compels me to remark that, in making the statement, Dr Masson drew as largely on his imagination as he did in speaking of the number of copies of '60 sold by the Bible Society—a misstatement amply confuted by Dr MacLauchlan in this month's *Celtic Magazine*, and proved to be wrong by 11,000. But the opposition to the use of *de* is so very curious that it deserves a word or two more regarding it.

In old Irish MSS., with which Mr Cameron is far better acquainted than I am, *de*, or *di*, occurs as representing the Latin *de*, *ex*, *ab*; *do* representing Latin *ad*, English *to*. In the spoken language of the Highlands the distinction is preserved. Both our grammarians, Stewart and Munro, recommend doing the same in the written language. The radical

difference between the two is represented in their compounds *dhe* and *dha*, yet the editors of '26 have discarded *de* "of," and strangely imposed on *do* the double duty of representing the two widely different meanings of *of* and *to*. Why this has been done and is now defended I never saw explained. As to Mr Cameron's other remarks about pronunciation "that *de* in the above sentence must be pronounced very nearly like *je* in *jelly*, and exactly like *deth* (of him, of it)," I have to say only that the *must* exists merely in his own imagination, that as a simple matter of fact the *de* is not so pronounced in many districts of the Highlands. The *jelly* pronunciation may prevail in Arran, but it does not find a place in Lochaber, nor have I ever heard it in *de* except from the unskilled lips of a Southron vainly attempting to master Celtic sounds.

11. *Fios* or *Phios*. Both forms are very common in spoken Gaelic. Both occur alike in '26 and '60, and why this matter should be charged as an offence I know not.

12th, and fortunately *lastly*, as to his charge of altering *am fad is beo e* to *am fad's is beo e*, he assigns a reason to which the editors of '60 are strangers. He may however in '26 find constructions entirely according to that which he denounces. But this is a point on which I think it very needless to consult either '26 or '60. I am in the constant habit of conversing with men who speak far purer Gaelic than I, or, I will venture to say, even Mr Cameron can do—genuine old Highlanders whose language is uncontaminated by any foreign taint. "*Fhad's is beo mi*"; "*fhad's is mairionn domh*" they use regularly. The same occurs in many of our free native songs; and I hold formal rules, or verbal analyses of very little value, in comparison with the *usage* of our pure vernacular.

And now, that I have gone over the whole of this formidable-looking catalogue of alleged errors and corruptions, I ask any rational man (if such may be expected to read it) to say whether even one of the charges is borne out by the proof. I ask further, whether there can be any more absolute waste of time and paper, than in wrangling about such thoroughly trifling and microscopic points as these? Is there any conceivable interest affected by our writing *cha-n'eil*, or *cha' n'eil?* *gu-n* or *gu'n*? While Gaelic lasts some will prefer one form, others another: and such is the case in all languages. If, however, there be any language on which a person should write with moderation, and tolerance of the opinions of those who differ from him it is Scottish Gaelic; for its orthography is still so very unsettled that no two writers in it can be found who entirely agree as to its minuter points. Nay, I have never yet seen five pages by the same author free from variations and discrepancies, and in the various districts of the country there are wide diversities as to words and inflections, especially as to pronunciation. If people would allow each other to write after his own fashion, the better expressions would in course of time commend themselves to general acceptance. There would be "a selection of the fittest," as in all other cultivated languages, and a uniform style would establish itself in peace and goodwill; but if I must judge of the future by the past and the present, I see no hope of so happy a prospect for Gaelic.

I feel constrained reluctantly to add a few remarks on the manner of Mr Cameron's criticisms, as well as on the matter of the changes which he

proposes to stereotype. In doing so, I confine myself absolutely to his controversial attitude, seeking in no way to diminish the respect due to him personally.

That attitude is of the most despotic, autocratic description. No King or Kaiser, no Patriarch or Pope, can issue laws with an air of more absolute infallibility than he does. Grammars and dictionaries, authority and usage, must yield to his laws; and, as for the ignoramuses who perpetrated the obnoxious edition of '60, they have acted under "entirely erroneous ideas of Gaelic and its structure." Quite in the lofty style of the old rulers, who said—"This people that knoweth not the law are cursed." Mr Cameron throughout all his laying down of absolute rules on Gaelic writing appears to have completely forgotten the truth that "There is no rule without an exception," not even his.

Further let us look at the improvement which he tries to make on our language. It is to galvanize into activity mummy forms of words that have for centuries been wrapped up in Irish swathing-bands, and to banish the living, breathing forms, now familiar in the Highlands, for those dry skeletons. Even his power cannot effect this; for whatever truth be in the theory of "development" in the material world, it certainly holds in the world of language. Every spoken language must, from the nature of the case, develop and grow, and will break the rusty chains with which learned antiquarianism vainly strives to bind it. Horace declares that, "with *usage* is the judgment and the right, and the standard of language," and every succeeding century that has passed since his day, has proved the truth of his sage observation.

But what I have especially to complain of and to protest against in Mr Cameron's conduct is, that he charges against the edition of 1860 as grievous transgressions, things that are to be found hundreds of times over in that of 1826, and of all intermediate editions. I have proved that fully one-half of his twelve counts of indictment against the former are to be found in the latter. In fact, I see only four "corruptions" for which '60 is exclusively responsible—the frightful ones of sometimes writing *an* with an apostrophe, changing *gu'n* into *gu-n*, *cha n'eil* into *cha-n'eil*, and using *de* in translating "of" instead of *do* which signifies "to." Yet, he calls the editors of 1826 "thorough grammarians," those of 1860 he places under the dominion of "entirely erroneous ideas of Gaelic." This is glaringly in opposition to the very first principles of justice.

Mr Cameron says that he purposed to re-publish as soon as possible a correspondence which passed between him and me in 1870 regarding this doomed edition. I can have no objection to his doing so. All the zeal and learning which he has hitherto bestowed on this matter have used him as Balaam of old did the Moabite ruler—turning the eagerly-wished bannings into blessings—and producing the very opposite effect to that which he desired. The public have bought *Fourteen Thousand Copies* of that edition (freed from the few typographical errors which appeared in the first issue)—showing an undeniable majority against Mr Cameron; and I doubt not, whatever new heights he may yet climb, whatever new sacrifices he may offer to his idols, will be followed by the same results. At the same time if, as his words seem to imply, he publish this correspondence as showing *all* "the value of the alterations" made in '60, or in any

respect descriptive of the character of *all* "the alterations" made in that edition, he will do what is entirely unworthy of him. Many foreign words and foreign idioms are "altered" into vernacular Gaelic. Very many anomalous sentences are written as he himself and all competent scholars now write the language. Yet, of all these unquestioned and unquestionable improvements, there is no mention made in that correspondence! Fair, full, and honest criticism is worthy of all respect. But criticism so partial as to condemn in one editor what is commended in another, and representations that are misleading, are deserving of all reprobation.

Lengthened as my remarks are, I must be allowed to state that, in the 1826 edition of the Gaelic Scriptures, there are matters of criticism very different in importance from the "pin-points" discussed by Mr Cameron. That translation, which within fourteen years of its publication, was ordered by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to be revised, takes liberties with the "Received Text," which, as far as I am aware, have not been ventured on in any other version. Various passages are transferred from one historical book to another, apparently with the view of reconciling discrepancies. The integrity of each individual book is completely disregarded, and one is used accordingly to correct the errors of another. The Received Hebrew text is frequently set aside for the Septuagint. Clauses are omitted which are to be found in Hebrew, and at least one which is to be found in the Greek of the New Testament, while there are additions not to be found either in the Hebrew or in the Septuagint. These are matters demanding serious consideration from those who believe "that all Scripture is given by the inspiration of God," and will I trust soon receive it. I may, if you allow me, take a future opportunity of pointing out some of these in your pages—of showing what are the real "corruptions" in the Gaelic translation of the Scriptures. But, meantime, I am glad to stop and subscribe myself, yours truly,

ARCH. CLERK, LL.D.

KILMALLIE MANSE, 7th August 1879.

### THE CLANDONALD OF KEPOCH.

BY D. C. MACPHERSON.

#### II.

ALEXANDER (the younger brother of Ronald) removed to Ireland, and married, about 1781, Anne, daughter of James Anderson, Esq., M.D., County Antrim. In 1801 he settled in the United States of America, where he died, 23d May 1840, in his 95th year, and was buried in the Cathedral Cemetery of Baltimore. He had three sons—John (of whom

hereafter), James, and Chichester. James had no *male* issue, but there are descendants of his in Canada by his *female* issue. Chichester, the third son, who emigrated to Canada, married there, and had issue. *Any lineal male descendant of this Chichester now alive is the rightful head of the Keppoch family.*

John Macdonald (eldest son of Alexander) was born in 1783. He was married, on 4th July 1818, to Margaret, daughter and heiress of Alexander Coulter, Esq., by the Right Rev. Enoch Fenwick, Rector of St Peters, Baltimore. He died, 17th March 1824, at Baltimore, and was buried in the Cathedral Cemetery there, leaving the following issue:—

1. *Alexander*, of whom presently, as heir to his father.

2. *James Macdonald*, born, 3d March 1784; married, 7th May 1814, Grace, daughter of —. M'Henry, Esq.; and died, 17th March 1832, leaving issue—a daughter,

(1), Mary Elizabeth, born, 20th August 1815, who married, 28th December 1841, Francis Von Damman, of Bremen, in Germany, and has issue still living—

1. *Catherine*, married to John Dubh Aberdvar.

2. *Sarah*, married to Charles Carroll, Esq.

3. *Maria*, married to —. Johnston Smith, Esq.

ALEXANDER, said last lineal Chief of the Clandonalds of Keppoch, was born 11th Nov. 1818. He was married at St James' Church, Baltimore, by the Rev. Father Guldea, on 9th April 1840, to Annie, daughter and heiress of Thomas Walsh, Esq., of Co. Cork, Ireland. He died, 6th June 1858, and was buried in St Patrick's Cemetery, Baltimore, U.S.A., and left issue—

1. *Ferdinand Macdonald*, who died without issue.

2. *Annie Alexis*, born 28th May 1845, who was married, 8th Sept. 1868, in the Cathedral of Baltimore, U.S.A., by his Grace the Most Rev. Archbishop Spalding, to John, Marquis d'Oyley, of Paris, France.

By Brief, dated 9th February 1874, Pope Pius IX. granted to the Marchioness d'Oyley the privilege of having a private chapel and chaplain, and by letters patent, dated 8th February 1877, he created her a Matrone of the Holy Sepulchre. She has issue—

(1.) *Reginald Donald*, born, 9th August 1869. He was baptised, by special permission from His Holiness, 25th December 1869, in the private chapel of the Royal Palace of Marlia; his sponsors being Martin John Spalding, Archbishop of Baltimore, and Her Royal Highness Victoria Augusta, Princesse de Bourbon.

(2.) *Gilbert Raoul*, born 13th February 1875, and baptised in the Church of the Madeleine, Paris, 5th October 1876, his sponsors being His Eminence Monseigneur Antonio Cataldi, Grand Master of Ceremonies of Pope Pius IX., and Her Serene Highness Mary, Duchess of Hamilton, Princess of Baden, &c.

3. *Louise Macdonald*, born 6th April 1859, and still unmarried.

## ANCIENT POSSESSORS AND WRITS OF CULLODEN.

BY CHARLES FRASER-MACKINTOSH, F.S.A., SCOT., M.P.



THE name of Culloden has, from many circumstances, an interest second to no other locality in the Highlands, and it is here proposed to furnish notes on the Possessors of the Barony, with some of the titles prior to its acquisition by the present family. First, we believe, promulgated in the Memorabilia of Inverness, all subsequent writers follow in alleging that Culloden was acquired by the family of Forbes about 1625. The deed of sale is dated however in 1637; Duncan Forbes, first of Culloden, being therein designated "of Bught." It would appear that prior to the sale, both he and James Cuthbert of Drakies had wadsets over portions of the lands.

The first time the name of Culloden appears on record is in the Charter of Kildrummie, Nairnshire, by Alexander II. to the Bishop of Moray, dated Roxburgh, 4th March 1238, where the following lands are mentioned in their order thus—"Drakies, Forest of Inverness; Culloden, Essich." From the time that the Mackintoshes settled in the north, and were hereditary keepers of the Castle of Inverness, their retainers spread over the lands of Culloden, Petty, and Ardersier having what was termed "kindly possession," and not being moveable tenants. Connage was the principal residence in that part, as mentioned in the MS. History.

The lands of Culloden were included in the Great Charter by Robert Bruce to Randolph, Earl of Moray, and remained with the Dunbars, successors in the Earldom until the forfeiture, in 1452, of Archibald Douglas, who had married the heiress of line, and proprietrix of the lands.

Culloden having thus remained in the possession of the Earls of Moray for about a century and a half, reverted to the Crown in 1452, and was thereafter granted to Sir William Edmonstone. The family of Edmonstone of Duntreath, now represented by a well-known parliamentary figure, Admiral Sir William Edmonstone, M.P. for the County of Stirling, is of great antiquity. It is alleged that the first ancestor was Edmundus, who attended Margaret, daughter of Edgar Atheling into Scotland in 1070, he being a younger son of Count Egmont of Flanders. Receiving a grant of land near Edinburgh, he gave it the name of Edmondeston, which became the distinctive appellation of the family. This Edmund's descendant, John de Edmonstone, received several charters from David II., in particular the Coronership of Edinburgh, and in 1368, the Thanage of Boyne, County of Banff, being there styled knight. Sir John's grandson, Sir William, received a grant of Culloden in the King's hands, as aforesaid, some time betwixt the years 1452 and 1460, as he died in the latter year. He also received the lands of Duntreath in 1452, which have since remained in the family. He was succeeded by his son, William, who was appointed a Lord of Session in 1461, and died the following year. Archibald succeeded his father, William, and was in turn succeeded by his son, William, who sold the lands of Culloden to Alexander Strachan of the old family of Thornton.

From an Inventory, itself more than three hundred years old, we quote the following items applicable to the period of the Edmonstones, when proprietors of Culloden, having the English modernized:—

“Item.—A Charter under the Great Seal given by King James to Archibald of Edmiston, son and apparent to William Edmonstone of Duntreath, and Jonat Schaw, his spouse, upon the lands and Barony of Culloden, dated 16th January 1469.

“Item.—An Instrument of Sasine proceeding upon a Retour past upon a service whereby William Edmonstone, son to Archibald Edmonstone of Duntreath, was seized in the lands and Barony of Culloden, dated 2d June 1503, under sign and subscription of Mr Andrew Sinclair, Notary Public.

“Item.—A Charter granted by William Edmonstone of Duntreath to Alexander Strachan upon the lands and Barony of Culloden, dated at Perth, the 1st July 1506.

“Item.—The Precept of Sasine following upon the said Charter, of the day of the date of the foresaid Charter.

“Item.—The true Copy of the Precept of Sasine directed by William Edmonstone for infesting of Alexander Strachan in Culloden, under sign and subscription of Alexander Baxter, Notar Public. *Primo Julii 1506.*

“Item.—The King’s Confirmation upon the foresaid Charter, under the Great Seal, dated at Stirling, 3d July 1506.”

The Edmonstones thus only retained Culloden for about fifty years. The Strachans of Thornton are a very old Scottish family. Walterus de Strachan is found as early as 1160. In the time of David II. is found Walter’s descendant, Sir James Strachan of Monboddo, who had two sons—first, Duncan of Monboddo, and second, Sir John, who and his descendants were styled of Thornton. Sir Alexander Strachan of Thornton was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia, 28th May 1625, only two days later than Gordon of Gordonston, the premier Baronet. The line of Sir John having failed in 1663, William Strachan of Monboddo succeeded to the Baronetcy. It is at present dormant, if not actually extinct.

The name of Strachan was very prominent in the Counties of Aberdeen and Banff, in the 15th and 16th centuries. After their settlement in Inverness-shire, several inter-marriages took place with neighbouring families. George Strachan, the second of Culloden, married Hugh Rose of Kilravock’s eldest daughter by Agnes Urquhart of Cromarty. John Oig Grant, brother of that respectable individual, James na-Creach, married one of the Misses Strachan about 1509. Another married Grant of Shewglie and Cormriony.

Alexander Strachan of Culloden was succeeded by his youngest son, George, and the latter by three daughters—Marjory married to Alexander Dallas of Budgate; Elizabeth married to Thomes Gordon of Wrays; and Margaret married to Hucheon Rose, who resided at Kinray of Dalcross; and from these ladies and their husbands the lands were purchased by Lachlan Mor Mackintosh of Mackintosh, as noted in the titles after quoted between the years 1570 and 1582.

The intake from the river Nairn *ex adverso* of the lands of Culclachie to serve the mill of Colquinnock, forming the subject of arrangement ‘twixt the two heritors, as early as 1547 is still to be seen, a pleasant memorial of peace in disturbed times.

The following is an Extract from the Inventory before referred to, of writs connected with Culloden during its possession by the Strachans:—

“Item.—An Appointment of March betwixt the lands of Culloden and Robert Stewart of Clava, his lands of Easter Urquhil, dated 3d Oct. 1508. Alexander Scheirar, notary thereto.

“Item.—An Instrument of Sasine whereby Alexander Rose son to Walter Rose of Holme, was infest in wadsett in one-fourth and an auchten part of Culloden, dated 10th October 1530. John Scott, notary thereto.

“Item.—Reversion granted by Walter Ogilvie to Alexander Strachan of Culloden of the lands of Easter Culloden, dated at Banff, 27th Sept. 1531.

“Item.—A Charter given by Alexander Strachan to George Strachan his son, for all the days of his lifetime of the half of the Mid-Davoch of Culloden, to be holden of himself, dated 5th January 1538.

“Item.—The Precept of Sasine following upon the said Charter of the same date.

“Item.—An Instrument of Sasine following upon, of the date 25th February 1538. Magnus Waus and John Scott, notaries thereto.

“Item.—An Assignation made by Alexander Strachan of Culloden to George Strachan, his youngest son, of the reversion made by Walter Rose of Holme, and Margaret Grant, his spouse, for redemption of a quarter and half and auchten part of Culloden in the Easter Davoch thereof, wadsett for a hundred merks, dated at Inverness, the penult day of May 1539.

“Item.—Another Assignation made by the said Alexander Strachan of Culloden to his son—George Strachan, of a reversion made by Walter Ogilvie of Strathnairn for redemption and out-quitting of all and haill the half lands of Easter Culloden, and a merk land of the other half. Dated at Inverness, the penult day of May 1539.

“Item.—An Instrument of Resignation whereby the lands of Easter Culloden were resigned by Alexander Strachan of Culloden in the King's lands, in favour of George Strachan, his son, dated the last day of August 1539. Mr William Jameson, notary thereto.

“Item.—A Charter under the Great Seal given by King James to the said George upon the foresaid lands, dated at Dundee, the last day of August 1539.

“Item.—The Precept of Sasine following thereon of the same date.

“Item.—An Instrument of Sasine following thereon, dated 27th Oct. 1539, under sign and subscription of John Scott, notary public.

“Item.—A Reversion made by Patrick Strachan to Alexander Strachan his father of the Easter half Davoch of Mid-Culloden, in the sum of two hundred merks, dated 25th April 1540.

“Item.—A Procuratory of Resignation made by Alexander Strachan, 23d October 1540.

“Item.—A Charter under the Great Seal made by James, King of Scots, to George Strachan, son to Alexander Strachan of Culloden, upon all and haill the lands of West Culloden, Mid-Culloden, and Colwhinnock, dated Falkland, 16th December 1540.

“Item.—A Precept of Sasine under the Quarter Seal following upon the said charter of same date.

“Item.—An Instrument of Sasine of the said lands, proceeding upon

the foresaid precept, dated last December 1540, under sign and subscription of Magnus Waus, notary public.

“Item.—An Instrument whereby a noble and potent Earl, James—Earl of Moray, assignee constituted by Walter Ogilvie in and to the said lands, and sums of money, granted him to have received the same for redemption of the lands, dated 18th March 1542. Mr Alexander Ferries, notary thereto.

“Item.—An Instrument of Redemption granted by John McWalter for redemption of the lands of Culloden, dated the 18th day of March 1543.

“Item.—Another Instrument whereby Walter Ogilvie of Dunlugas, knight, grantee of the said reversion and assignee hereto, granted the reversion made by him to the said Alexander Strachan, duly fulfilled and therefore renounced the lands and the instrument; subscribed by Mr George Duncan, notary, of the date the fourteenth day of April 1543.

“Item.—An Instrument of Redemption of an aughten part of Culloden redeemed from John Mac Walter, dated 20th May 1544. Gilbert Hay, notary thereto.

“Item.—A License granted by James Ogilvie of Cardell, heritable laird of the lands of Culclachie, to George Strachan of Culloden, to draw a water gang to serve the mils of Colquinnock, dated at Edinburgh, 24th July 1547.

“Item.—A Reversion granted by James Rose to George Strachan for redeeming of a part of his lands of Culloden, in the sum of one hundred merks, dated 13th Sept. 1554.

“Item.—A Reversion granted by Donald McFerson to George Strachan of Culloden of the lands thereof, dated 16th December 1555.

“Item.—A Gift of the Ward of Culloden, with relief thereof, given by Queen Mary, to George, Earl of Huntly, by the decease of George Strachan of Culloden, with the marriage of Marjory Strachan, Elizabeth Strachan, and Margaret Strachan, daughters and heirs to the said George Strachan, dated at Aberdeen 9th October 1556.

“Item.—An Instrument upon the back thereof, whereby the said Earl of Huntly made George, Lord Gordon, his son, assignee to the said gift, dated at Aberdeen, the 10th October 1556. Mr Thomas Keir, notary thereto.

“Item.—The Assignation subscribed by the said George, Lord Gordon, thereafter Earl of Huntly, to Thomas Gordon of the Wrays, his heirs or assignees, one or more of the said ward, non entry, relief and marriage, dated at Huntly, 16th September 1569.

“Item.—A Contract betwixt Lachlan Mackintosh of Dunachton and Thomas Gordon, anent the lands of Culloden, and marriage of the heirs of the same, dated at Inverness, 18th Sept. 1570.

“Item.—A Charter made by Thomas Gordon of Wrays to Lachlan Mackintosh of Dunachton upon all and haill the lands of the mid plough of Wrays, in security of the disposition and simple alienation of the third part of the lands of Culloden, sold by Elspet Strachan, his spouse, to the said Lachlan, dated at Inverness, 19th Sept. 1570.

“Item.—A Bond made by Thomas Gordon of Wrays to the said Lachlan Mackintosh, whereby the said Thomas disponed to him the ward lief and non entries of Culloden, with the marriage of the heirs thereof, written on parchment, dated 21st Sept. 1570.

*"Item.—A Charter containing Precept of Sasine therein, dated at Wrays, the 7th day of January 1571, made by Elizabeth Strachan, one of the three heirs of umquhile George Strachan of Culloden, with consent of Thomas Gordon of Wrays, to the said Lachlan Mackintosh and Agnes Mackenzie, his spouse, of all and haill the lands of Easter Culloden, Mid-Culloden, Wester Culloden, and Colquinnock.*

*"Item.—The Instrument of Sasine following thereupon, dated 14th January 1571. John Gibson, notar thereto.*

*"Item.—An Instrument of Sasine whereby Elizabeth Strachan, one of the heirs of umquhile George Strachan of Culloden, was seized in the lands and Barony of Culloden, on precept furth of Chancery, dated 17th Sept. 1571. John Gibson, notar thereto.*

*"Item.—A Charter made by Margaret Strachan, youngest daughter of the three lawful heirs of umquhile George Strachan, with consent of Hucheon Rose, her spouse, to the said Lachlan Mackintosh and Agnes Mackenzie, upon all and sundry their three parts of the haill Barony of Culloden, dated at Kinray, 22d March 1577.*

*"Item.—Two Instruments of Sasine following thereupon, under sign and subscription of Mr Martyne Logye, notar public, dated 22d March 1577.*

*"Item.—Another Instrument of Sasine of the said lands following upon the said charter, dated 22d March 1578. Mr Martyne Logye, notar thereto.*

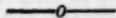
*"A Charter containing Precept of Sasine of the date at Inverness, 4th December 1582, made by Marjorie Strachan, eldest daughter and one of the three heirs of umquhile George Strachan of Culloden, with consent of Alexander Dallas of Budzett, her husband, to Lachlan Mackintosh of Dunachton, and Agnes Mackenzie, his spouse, and their heirs, of her, third part of the lands of Wester Culloden, Mid-Culloden, Easter Culloden, and Colquinnock.*

*"Item.—The Instrument of Sasine following thereupon, under the sign and subscription of Mr Martyne Logye, notary, dated 5th December 1582.*

*"Item.—The King's Confirmation upon the said three Charters, under the Great Seal, dated Holyrood House, 1586." It will be seen that sixteen years elapsed from the time Lachlan Mor first negotiated for Culloden, until in 1586 he received the King's confirmation of the various charters of alienation. From this time, until his death in 1606, Lachlan generally lived at Culloden, and left the estate in jointure to his spouse, Agnes Mackenzie of Kintail. Agnes—Lady Dunachton, as she was styled—must have been a woman of great ability. A member of her establishment, diversely termed her servitor, doer, and secretary, bore the singular name, for a Highland household, of Malcolm Ego.*

Lachlan Mackintosh's eldest son, Angus, having predeceased, the succession devolved on Lachlan's death upon his grandson, Sir Lachlan Mackintosh of Torcastle, who lived constantly at Culloden, and in whose time occurred that well-known event, the hership of Culloden. On the death of Lachlan, prematurely (it being commonly believed he was poisoned), in the 29th year of his age, he was succeeded by his son, William, who had to part with Culloden in 1637, to Duncan Forbes of Bught, in order to relieve the Lochaber Estates from a pressing debt, fraudulently incurred in his minority.

## WILLIAM GRANT OF GLEN-URQUHART.



MANY long years have passed away, and many changes have taken place since Glen-Urquhart was the scene of the following legend. Then, the Glen was thickly wooded with magnificent trees, under the spreading branches of which sported the graceful and lively fawn, the squirrel gambolled amidst the green boughs, and the timid hare burrowed at the root, without fear of molestation ; while the stately stag reclined under the grateful shade, during the hot noon time of the summer day. But a change came over this lovely sylvan retreat. Its solitude, rather than its beauty, attracted the notice of a party of aliens, who found in its forests a secure place from pursuit, as well as a grand hunting field, well stocked with venison and game.

These aliens did not belong to any particular clan or sept, but were, as their name implied, aliens from all the clans. Some of them had been hounded from their home and people for misconduct ; others had voluntarily severed themselves from the ties of kindred and clanship, and, disowning subjection to their own chiefs, lived in uncontrolled liberty, which, alas ! only too often lapsed into license and lawlessness. As "birds of a feather flock together," so did these men by degrees band together for mutual protection, and, in course of time, became very formidable enemies, not only to the Lowlanders, but to all the neighbouring clans. As they owned allegiance to none but their self-elected captain, they plundered their neighbours indiscriminately, except where they were bought off by the payment of black mail. It not unfrequently happened, when one clan opposed another, for one of the rival chiefs to engage the aliens to fight on his side ; and, as they were free from all clan obligations and hereditary feuds, they cared not on whose side they fought, provided they were well paid ; and, according to the old proverb, "honour among thieves" while so engaged, they not only served their temporary leader faithfully, but held his property sacred from attack. But as soon as the term for which they had been engaged had expired, they held themselves quite as much at liberty as before to carry off his cattle and burn his barns by a midnight raid.

At length their numbers increased so fast, and their depredations became so frequent and formidable, that the surrounding proprietors complained to the Governor of Strone Castle for allowing such a lawless set of men to settle within his territories to be a source of annoyance to his neighbours, and pleaded with him to order them to quit the Glen at once and for ever.

The Governor accordingly sent one of his men to the alien Captain, with a message to the effect that they must vacate the Glen, and seek other quarters. A week would be allowed for their removal, but after that time any of them found lingering in Glen-Urquhart, or any of the lands under his jurisdiction, would be proceeded against with fire and sword.

The alien leader listened in grim silence to the message as it was intimated to him by the bearer ; then, breaking out in a rage, he bade the

man begone. "Go back," he thundered out, while his eyes flashed with angry scorn, "go back to your master and tell him I care not for him nor for his threats, and let him beware of sending such messages to me again. Take back his letter, and tell him this is how I treated it," at the same time throwing the paper on the ground and stamping his heel upon it. "Yet stay! perchance you might lose this precious epistle, to make sure of it, you shall eat it." This proposal was greeted with shouts of laughter from the aliens, and, in spite of the expostulations and struggles of the messenger, he was forced, amid the jeers of his persecutors, to chew and swallow every atom of the document; then, stripping him of his arms and most of his clothes, they sent him back, warning him on peril of his life never again to venture to carry such mandates to them. Thankful to escape with his life from the hands of such desperate characters, the man hurried back to Strone Castle and reported the ill-usage he had received. The Governor was very naturally incensed at the recital of the indignities inflicted upon his ambassador, and vowed that he would have vengeance upon the insolent intruders. Collecting a large number of his dependants, he placed them under the command of his only son, William Grant, with orders to proceed up the Glen, and drive out the aliens at the point of the sword, giving no quarter.

This William Grant was a singularly handsome young man, and considerably over six feet in height. He was yet so well-proportioned, that only by comparison with his fellows, one noticed his unusual stature. With blue eyes and fair hair—a clear white skin, which any lady might envy, and a graceful athletic form—he was a very Adonis personified; and his qualities of head and heart being in unison with his good looks, he was loved and admired by the whole clan. The men selected for this expedition to Glen-Urquhart cheerfully placed themselves under his command, and started in high spirits, anxious to punish the interlopers for their many acts of oppression and insolence. Reaching the Glen, they proceeded with caution to prevent being taken unawares by the wily foe, and after going some distance without seeing or hearing anything of the aliens, they redoubled their vigilance, supposing the enemy was trying to lead them into an ambuscade. But, when they had traversed the Glen from end to end without any signs of opposition, they hardly knew what to think. The young men of the party exulting in their strength and courage, boastingly asserted that taking fright at the preparations made against them, the aliens considering "discretion the better part of valour," had decamped *en masse*. The older men, knowing better the desperate character of the men they had to contend with, shook their heads, and gave it as their opinion that instead of flying, the aliens had merely hidden themselves in the thickest part of the forest, among the numerous caves and hiding places in the rocks, and were waiting an opportunity to take their pursuers unawares.

William and his party continued their search for several days without discovering any traces of the aliens, till, at last, they decided upon returning home. William, however, was so delighted with the beauty of the Glen and the appearance of good sport which it afforded, that he determined upon spending a little time to pursue his favourite pastime. Some of the most prudent of his followers tried to turn him from his purpose,

by suggesting that if the aliens were hiding near, they might possibly soon return, and that his life would be in danger if he was found alone. But the brave youth only laughed at their counsel, and telling them to inform his father of the reason of his delay in returning to the castle, saw his comrades depart with a light heart, in which fear was unknown.

After spending the day, enjoying the excitement of the chase, the evening found him wandering slowly and pensively along the shady avenues and leafy groves, formed by the drooping birch trees, admiring the beauty of the scene, inhaling the sweet perfume of the floral treasures which Nature had so profusely strewn around, while his ear was charmed with the sweet notes of the nightingale, warbling her evening song.

As he strolled along, drinking in deep draughts of pure delight at the beauty and sweetness around him, he heard the refreshing, cooling sound of running water, and, shaping his course towards it, he soon reached a clear, limpid, bubbling spring, issuing from the rock, and which, as if glad to get free, rushed impetuously from the narrow opening in the rock, rattling down over the stones with a deal of noise and bustle, and then, getting more subdued, spread out, and formed into a very bonnie stream winding and meandering through the forest glades, growing slower and quieter as it proceeded, sometimes even coyly hiding underground for a few yards only however to re-appear with renewed life and beauty, until it lost itself in the river. As William followed its devious windings, his ears were assailed by the sound of a sweet female voice, singing one of those pathetic half-mournful songs, peculiar to the Highlands. He stood still with astonishment at hearing such a totally unexpected sound, and, as he listened, he felt a sort of superstitious awe stealing over him, for he could scarcely bring himself to believe that it was not some supernatural being that was producing such enchanting strains. Curiosity, however, getting the better of his fear of the unearthly, he moved gently forward to catch a glimpse of the singer—fairy or mermaid, or whatever else she might be—saying in an undertone, “The cross be betwixt me and thee,” and involuntarily laying his hand on his breast where he wore a charm composed of a piece of singed cow-hide, called “Caisean-uchd,” and some berries of the rowan tree, picked by moonlight, which was a sovereign remedy against the arts and wiles of fairy, warlock, or kelpie. Cautiously parting the bushes and intervening branches that opposed his view, he caught sight of the vocalist. With suspended breath, and dilated eyes, he gazed upon her. Again he pressed his hand on the amulet; again he mentally repeated his exorcism, for now he felt certain that he beheld an inhabitant of another world, for nothing mortal could be half so beautiful. Within a few yards of where he stood was a lovely maiden, just budding into womanhood, sitting on the grassy bank of the burn. She was cooling her feet in the clear running stream, while her hands were deftly entwining fresh culled wild flowers in her long silken tresses of jet-black hair, while ever and anon she bent forward to see her beautiful form reflected in the crystal water. Her plaid lay on the grass beside her, and her fair white neck and bosom were seen undulating, as she sang the sweet plaintive notes of a Gaelic love song. All the stories about fairies and their dread enchantment he had ever heard flashed across his mind, but he felt so fascinated, that he could not tear himself from the

aptivating sight. Soon, however, this sylph of the wood relieved him from his entranced state, by getting up, drawing her plaid over her shoulder and slowly walking away, still singing as she went. With a long-drawn sigh, partly of relief at his escape from the influences of the fairy, and partly at regret at losing sight of the fair vision, young Grant pulled himself together, and continued his ramble. But all the beauty and sweetness of the evening he had so enjoyed before seemed to have vanished with the nymph. Everything now appeared grey and cheerless, so he improvised a hunter's bed, and lay down to rest.

Next day he resumed his sport, or at least attempted to do so, but in reality his mind was occupied more with the lovely figure he had seen the previous day. He often stood in a reverie listening for the sweet notes which had so charmed him before, while the brown hare passed close to him unheeded, and the gentle doe came within shooting distance unharmed—for his bow was held unstrung and the arrows rested in the sheaf. The evening turning out wet and stormy, Grant looked about for a better shelter than that afforded by the leafy bowers of the forest. He at last discovered a natural cave among the rocks, and gladly availed himself of the protection it provided against the fast-coming storm. He found the cave ran in a good distance, and, though the entrance was narrow, it was a good size inside, and had evidently been made larger by the hands of men, than it originally was; and as Grant penetrated further, he was surprised to see tokens of its being very recently occupied as a dwelling-place. "Ah!" exclaimed he, "this no doubt was one of the aliens' hiding-places, and not a bad one either. I shall rest like a prince here." There were several beds made of dried heather, covered over with skins, ranged round the walls of this natural cavern; and selecting the best, our hero stretched himself upon it, and was soon fast locked in the arms of Morpheus. How long he slept, he knew not, but he awoke with a start, by a light shining on his face, and the noise of men's voices in loud and eager conversation. The new comers had lighted a fire, the smoke of which circling round the cave to find an exit, made the place so dark that the aliens had not perceived the intruder upon their hospitality.

William Grant was one of the bravest of men, yet his blood ran cold, and seemed to curdle in his veins. His heart beat fast, while a cold perspiration broke from every pore, as the imminent danger of his position became apparent to him. Here was he alone, far from his friends, surrounded by dozens of his inveterate foes; any moment the merest chance might discover him, when he felt sure to meet with a sudden and inglorious death, without the least opportunity of defending himself, and, worse than all, his body would be cast out as carrion for the birds of the air to devour, and his friends would never know his fate.

Shrinking down on his heathery couch, and making himself as small and invisible as possible, young Grant lay hardly daring to breath, while eye and ear were strained to the utmost, noticing every movement and hearing every word of the aliens to see if, by any unlooked-for chance, he might yet escape their deadly clutches. Suddenly another figure appeared upon the scene. The new comer was a tall, powerfully-built man in the prime of life; and as the fire-light played on his rugged features and fierce countenance, Grant recognised him as the leader or captain of the aliens.

He entered the cave with a quick footstep, and glancing angrily around, demanded in a loud imperious voice, "What mean ye, fellows? idling here, quarrelling among yourselves, when there is real work to be done! Up! every man of you, go instantly and discover whether there yet lurks in our glen, as I suspect, one of the accursed Grants. Haste! and return here at once, for I'll make the red cock crow in every byre for twenty miles round, before another day is over." At their leader's entrance, every man had sprung up and stood silent, and, receiving his orders, they all rushed from his presence, eager to atone for what he seemed to consider their previous negligence, by extra agility in carrying out his present commands. For a few moments the alien captain stood in deep thought; his compressed lips and scowling brow plainly indicated that his meditations were not of the most pleasant; then, with a yawn of utter weariness, he threw himself on the nearest couch, and soon his stentorian breathing conveyed to Grant the pleasing intelligence that his foe was asleep. Now, indeed, Fortune appeared to smile upon our hero; his opponents were reduced from scores to one individual, and that one slept.

For a moment, William was tempted to bury his dirk in the heart of the slumbering man, but he was of too chivalrous a disposition to take an unfair advantage even of his bitterest foe, and besides, his main object at present was to escape unnoticed from the toils his own imprudence had entangled him in, and to make his way to the castle as speedily as possible to warn his father of the intended raid against him. He therefore rose gently, and grasping his weapon with a firm hand, stole on tiptoe towards the entrance of the cave, to reach which he had to pass the still sleeping alien. Holding his breath, and creeping with cat-like tread, young Grant advanced step by step; now he has reached the alien's couch; another instant he will have passed him when, as ill-luck would have it, he stumbled over a half-burnt log of wood that had formed part of the fire. He recovered himself in a moment, but the noise, slight as it was, proved sufficient to arouse the alert captain, who, springing up, demanded to know who of his followers had dared to disobey his commands by staying behind? Then, as he caught sight of William, he fell upon him with concentrated fury, exclaiming, "Ah! a Grant! didst think to beard the lion in his den? thou smooth-faced boy." Well was it then for the bold youth that he had his trusty claymore ready; with it he warded off the first rapid blows of his antagonist, who, perceiving the advantage the sword gave to Grant, and being only armed with the dirk himself, suddenly closed with the youth, and pinioning his arms with a bear-like hug, essayed to bear him by sheer strength to the ground, but he miscalculated the strength of his young opponent, who was as well skilled in wrestling as he was in the sword-exercise. Letting fall his now useless claymore, Grant took a firm grip of his enemy, and now began the struggle for life between them. With close-set teeth, knitted brows, from under which darted the angry flashes of vindictive and deadly hate, with panting breath and every muscle strained to the utmost, they reel to and fro; now backward, now forward. They soon reach the mouth of the cave, still they cling to each other, with almost supernatural strength and determination; round and round they go, locked in their deadly embrace; the veins stand out like whipcord on their heated temples, their breath is

drawn in quick convulsive gasps ; but still their eyes glare on each other with unflinching defiance ; the tremendous exertions they are making soon begins to tell on both ; their limbs tremble, their heads are giddy, but still they wrestle like two gladiators thirsting for each other's blood. Turning and twisting they reach the edge of an ugly rock, which at that place shelved down to a great distance. As they reach the brink of this frightful precipice, Grant sees a yet fiercer gleam in the bloodshot eye of the alien, who, collecting all his remaining strength, makes a final effort, and attempts to throw Grant over the rock down to the yawning chasm below. Our hero was unable to resist the sudden, impetuous attempt of his foe, but determining that if he died, at least his enemy should not survive to boast of his victory, he clung to the alien with a vice-like grip, and together they rolled over the frightful precipice and disappeared.

M. A. ROSE.

(To be Continued.)

## PRINCE CHARLIE'S FAREWELL TO SCOTLAND.

Farewell, my loved Scotland, the land of my sires,  
An exile I leave thee, ah ! ne'er to return ;  
No more shall a Stuart awaken the fires  
That still in thy children exultingly burn.  
Ye bold Highland Chieftains, devoted and leal,  
My warrior companions on dire battlefields,  
I go broken-hearted, tears cannot reveal  
The sadness my parting for evermore yields.

Farewell, bonnie Scotland, Culloden's dark day  
Dispelled the bright visions I cherished with years.  
The sun of my hope has gone down in dismay,  
The merciless Saxon triumphant appears.  
Ye valorous clansmen who fought as ye loved,  
Who gloriously bled for the cause of the true,  
Ah ! little I thought when as conquerors we moved,  
That vanquished I'd bid ye in sorrow adieu.

Farewell, Caledonia, I weep for thy woes,  
The chains of the tyrant around me are laid,  
Thy cottages blaze 'neath the brand of thy foes,  
Thy children are homeless, thy glory is fled.  
Alas ! I must leave thee to vengeance and scorn,  
No more in the land of the brave I must dwell ;  
I go, and when wearily wandering forlorn,  
My heart shall be with thee forever, farewell !

SUNDERLAND.

WM. ALLAN.

## INVERNESS NEW TOWN HALL AND THE HIGHLAND CLANS.

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It has been proposed by the architect and the contractors for the Glazing of the New Town Hall Windows—Messrs Adam & Small of Glasgow—to place the Arms of the various Highland Clans in the Hall Windows. Nothing, in our opinion, could be more appropriate; and we are quite satisfied that no proposal could have been made which would meet with the same unanimous approval among Highlanders at home and abroad. The members of the Town Council themselves appear, from the minutes, to have been quite unanimous in favour of this peculiarly happy proposal, and they at once remitted the whole subject to a sub-committee of seven members, with powers to carry their resolution into effect. This committee requested two of their number—Mr Alex. Mackenzie of the *Celtic Magazine* and Mr James Melven, bookseller—to bring up suggestions as to the best manner in which to carry out the instructions of the Council. The report brought up by these gentlemen was unanimously, on the motion of the Provost, generally adopted. It may be found necessary to alter some of the minor details. Meanwhile, we think the suggestions worthy of being placed before our readers, all of whom will feel an interest in the subject; and it is possible valuable suggestions may be received from those who have devoted attention to Highland Clan history:—

### SUGGESTIONS ADOPTED BY THE COMMITTEE.

“In conformity with the suggestion made at the last meeting of the sub-committee, we have considered the best way of carrying out the architect's proposal to fill in the Windows of the New Town Hall Buildings with the Arms of the Highland Clans. The Town Council having already approved of Mr Lawrie's happy proposal, it only remains for the committee to recommend the best plan to carry the resolution of the Council into effect. The idea is quite worthy of the building which, in future, will be the most prominent and the principal centre of attraction in the Highland Capital—for centuries the centre of the Clan system. Chiefs and Clans in the sense in which it is here proposed to commemorate them, have long ago become things of the past; but the system has left its mark on our countrymen, by engendering and stimulating a spirit of genuine devotion, bravery, and loyalty, exhibited by no other race of people. Nothing can, in our opinion, be more appropriate, in all the circumstances, than to illustrate and commemorate in a complete and artistic form the best phases of our ancient mode of government in the Highlands. But if this is to be done, it should be carried out in such a way as to give a complete and correct

idea of the origin and development of the Clan system, as far as possible, in the arrangement of the various Family Arms in the Town Hall Windows.

"The best authorities, such as W. F. Skene, LL.D., the late Donald Gregory, and various others, agree as to the native Celtic origin of nearly all the Highland Clans; and Skene especially has classified them in a form which we suggest should be carried out in decorating with their Arms the Town Hall Windows. This proposal has the advantage that by it, in addition to the importance of carrying out a complete idea artistically, and in all its parts, any controversy as to precedencey or priority of position is altogether avoided.

"It is not proposed to represent branches of the Clans—only the great leaders or chiefs of families whom the minor septs of the respective Clans acknowledged as their common chief and commander, and whose arms will now sufficiently represent all the cadets of the various families. Dr Skene, universally admitted to be the best living authority on everything connected with the Highlands and Highland Clans, holds that the Celtic races now occupying the Highlands existed as a distinct people, and occupied the same country from the earliest periods to which the records of history reach; that, before the thirteenth century, they were divided into a few great tribes under chiefs called Maormors, by Saxon influence changed at a later period to that of Earl; that from these tribes all the Highlanders are descended; and that to one or other of them each of the Highland Clans can be traced. After fully stating his reasons in favour of these conclusions, and in support of a systematic grouping of the Clans according to a certain order of descent fully described in his 'Highlanders of Scotland,' he summarises the result of his researches in a table showing the descent of the various clans from a Celtic source; and we respectfully recommend that this arrangement should be followed in placing the Arms of the various Clans in the Windows of the New Town Hall. In case, however, that Dr Skene may have found reason to deviate in any material point from the conclusions arrived at in his 'Highlanders of Scotland,' we deemed it proper to communicate with him, as he is now engaged on his great work, "Celtic Scotland," the third and only unpublished volume of which, it is understood, is to be devoted mainly to the Highland Clans. Any possible deviation, however, can only be a question of detail, which can easily be arranged. Meanwhile, we recommend the following arrangement:—

"*The Three Windows facing Castle Street.*—The round spaces in top of each to be filled in respectively—the centre one by the Royal Arms, and those on either side by the Scotch and Town, or perhaps the Stewart Arms. The lower portion meanwhile to be filled in with floral designs and scrolls. This will express loyalty and patriotism.

"*East Window in front of Hall.*—Round space at top—Lords of the Isles. Panels below, on either side—Glengarry and Clanranald. These will represent the Maormorship or Earldom of the Gallgall.

"It requires two windows to take in the Arms of the Clans which we think ought to represent the Maormorship or Earldom of Moray, so we propose that in the

"Second Window in front of Hall be emblazoned the Arms of the Chiefs of the Mackintoshes, Macphersons, and Camerons, and in

"The Third Window the Munros, Macleans, and Robertsons, all of whom belong to one Maormorship or Earldom. In the

"Fourth Window—The Rosses, Mackenzies, and Mathiesons. In the

"Fifth Window—Macgregors, Grants of Grant, and Grants of Glenmoriston ; and in the

"Sixth Window—Macleods, Campbells, and Mackays.

"This exhausts the great Clans, except the Frasers, the Forbeses, and Chisholms, who, Skene maintains, are not of Celtic but of foreign origin. Their connection with Inverness however, and the prominent part the former two at least have played in Scottish, as well as in local history, entitle them to a prominent position in such an arrangement as is here proposed. We therefore recommend that these three Clans should occupy the three Windows in the West end of the Hall—the Frasers occupying the round space in the top of the centre window, with the Forbeses and Chisholms on either side in the other two, all opposite to, and in the same position as the Royal, Scottish, and Town Arms in the East Windows of the Hall in Castle Street, the lower part of these windows to be filled in with floral designs and scrolls, as in those opposite. This would give expression to a complete idea and represent all the leading clans. There would still be ample room, if it were thought advisable, to represent the smaller clans or septs, such as the Macraes, Maclennans, &c., &c., in the Windows of the Lower Flat. There are also six spaces in the Provost's Room, and several in the Council Chamber, leaving ample room for representing the various Chief Magistrates of the Burgh, the Sciences, Great Industries, or any other interests deemed suitable, and in keeping with the character of the building.

"The various Family Arms can be found in the different 'Peerages,' 'Baronetages,' and such works ; but application should, in all cases, be made to the chiefs or their representatives to secure accuracy, for their respective arms, and to supply correct designs when not otherwise obtainable.

(Signed)      "A. MACKENZIE.  
                    "JAMES MELVEN."

Dr Skene has written to us that he has not been even re-considering the conclusions arrived at and adopted in his "Highlanders of Scotland"; and he does not anticipate that his third volume of "Celtic Scotland"—which we regret to find has been delayed in consequence of a long illness from which, happily, our greatest Celtic authority is now recovering—will enter much into Clan history.

## FAREWELL TO FINARY.

## KEY A.

.s. : d. , d | s. , m : r. , d | t. , r : m. , l. | l. , t. : l. , s. | s. :  
 .s. : l. , l. | d. , d : r. , m | s. s : l. , s | s. , m : r. , d | d. ||  
 Chorus.  
 : d. , d | s. , m : r. , d | t. , : m. , l. | l. , t. : l. , s. | s.  
 : l. , l. | d. , d : r. , m | s. s : l. , s | s. , m : r. , d | d. ||

Tha loma mile ceangal blath  
 Mar shaighdean ann am fein an sas ;  
 Mo chridhe 'n impis a bhi sgaint  
 A chions bhi 'fagail Fionn-Airidh.

Bu tric a ghabh mi sgiob leam fhein,  
 Mu 'n eairir air luchair Fhinn ar trein ;  
 'S a dh'eisid mi aigulachdan na Feinn  
 'G an cur an ceil am Fionn-Airidh.

'S bu tric a sheall mi seagar Mairt  
 Far am biadh Oisein, 'seinn a dhan ;  
 A' coimheadh grein aig loma tra  
 Doil seach gach la 's mi 'm Fionn-Airidh.

Allt-na-Caillich—sruthan ciuin  
 Le 'bhorban binn 'sol seach gach lub,  
 Is lionndh aoiibheas 'fhuair mo shuill  
 Mu'dh bhrachaibh diluth do Fhionn-Airidh.

Beannachd le beannaitibh mo ghaoil  
 Far am faigh mi 'm fidh le 'laogh,—  
 Gu ma fad' an coilleach-fraoch  
 A' ghaoilchaidh ann am Fionn-Airidh.

Am feum mi siubhal nait gun dail !  
 Na siuil tha togta ris a' bhait !  
 Soraidh, sian, le tir mo ghraidih ;  
 Is sian, gu brath le Fionn-Airidh !

Ach cha 'n iad glinn is beannan ard'  
 A lot mo chridh, 's a rinn mo chraadh,  
 Ach an diugh na tha fo phramh  
 An teach mo ghraidih am Fionn-Airidh.

Beannachd le athair mo ghraidih  
 Bith mi 'cuimhneach ort gu brath ;  
 Ghuidhinn gach sonas is agh  
 Do 'n t-sean fhearr bhan am Fionn-Airidh.

Mo ihat hair ! 's ionmhuinn t' ainn r' aluaidh,  
 Am feum mi tearbhadh uait cho iuth ;  
 Is falbh a'm' allabanach truagh  
 An cian uait fein 's o Fionn-Airidh.

Soraidh leat-sa, bhrathair chaoin,  
 Le peathraichibh me ghaoil ;  
 Cuiribh bron is deoir a thaobh,  
 'S bioldh aoiibh ann am Fionn-Airidh.

'Ileasbuig bhig, mo Leannabh graidh,  
 Gu 'n coimheadh Dia thu o gach cas ;  
 'S bu mhiann leam fein ma thill gu brath  
 Do ghaira blath bhi 'm Fionn-Airidh.

NOTE.—"Farewell to Finney" is one of the most popular songs of the Highlands. The melody is old and sweet. The English words were composed by the late Rev. Dr Norman Macleod "Caraid nan Goidheal," whilst the Gaelic words above given are a translation of them by the late Archibald Sinclair, printer, Glasgow.

W. M.K.